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1920

Extracts from the "MAIL"

1-1-1920 to 29-12-1920

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EXTRACTS FROM THE MADRAS MAIL.

From January 1st 1920 - ~~1924~~.

1-1-1920.

1. THE CATHOLIC INDIAN ASSOCIATION:

CATHOLICS AND REFORMS ACT.

The Catholic Indian association of Southern India was held its 22rd general meeting at Tuticorin on 28th and 29th of December. The meeting passed the following resolutions.

1. The meeting is of the opinion that the Catholic Indian ~~xh~~element is not adequately represented in many of the local Boards and Municipal Council in the Presidency and strongly urges on the attention of the Government the necessity for making promises for the proper representation of the Catholic Indians by alloting nominated seats in proportion to the Catholic population of each local Board area and Municipality.

2. The meeting is of the opinion that the Catholic Indians are now labouring under considerable difficulties in the matter of promotion to higher ranks of public service on account of the overwhelming number of prepondering influence the non-Christians have in Government offices, and that their claims to promotion, to higher appointments should be especialled, recognised and ~~pointed~~ provided for by Govern ent, on account of the very few number of catholic Indians in the higher ransk of public service, and requests the Government to take steps to impress~~ion~~ on all public officers and draw their prominent attention to the need for giving preferenc to the catholic Indians in the matter of promotion to higher Appointments is public service.

This meeting is of the opinion that, considering the preponderating influence and advance made by the non-christian communities special ~~mexfex~~ preference should

be shown to the catholic Indians in the matter of due it recruitment to special appointments with Police or revenue departments, and requests that the Government would be pleased to issue instructions that none appointments may be given in future to the catholic Indians.

The association begs to urge on the Government of India and Government of Madras that the member of seats allotted to the Indian Christian of the Madras Presidency is too low and totally incommensurate with the importance and education of the community and strongly represents to the Government aforesaid that in the Madras Legislative Council under the new Reforms then ought to be not less than 12 seats provided for the Indian Christian and of this Presidency and that one seat at least should be reserved for them in the Imperial Legislative Council. This association further submits that the Indian Christians should not be debared from competing in the general electorates after due ~~promission~~ provision is made for the non-Brahman Hindus.

The principle speakers in the above resolutions were Professor Retnaswamy, of Pachaiappa College, the Hon'ble Mr. Arumainatha Pillay, Mrs. Cruz Furnandez and A. Masilamani Pillai and the following ~~proposed~~ proposal from chair was carried with acctuation that a message be forwarded to H.M. the king, Emperor that "the Catholic Indian Association of Southern India ~~offer~~ after loyal and greatful thanks to His Imperial Majesty for grant of first step towards responsible self Government and rejoices one of the forth coming visit to India of H.R.H. the Princes of Wales.

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MADRAS MAIL.

1-1-1920.

2. THE INDIAN REFORMS

Sri T. Hollen's Appeal

That a strong ~~event~~ current of unrest prevails among British officials in India in reference to the new constitution contemplated by the Government of India Bill is well known say the "Jains". The Joint Select Committee acknowledged in their report that some members of the Public Services regret the wisdom of the proposed charges with grave misgiving but the conviction is expressed that the services will accept the changing conditions and the inevitable alteration in their own position, and denote the selves in all loyalty to making a success, so far as in their lies of the new constitution".

An appeal to the British officials to fulfil this hope, and not ~~ex~~ exercise the opinion of retiring on proportionate pension which the Joint committee propses in the case of Civil Servants "chose doubts as to the charges to the made am so deeply rooted that they feel they cannot usefully endeavour to take part in them, is made by Sir Thomas Holland F.R.S., in the statement which follow. Sir Thomas Holland has special claim ~~the~~ to be heard on the subject and his appeal will carry exeptional weight. He retired from the directorship of the Geological Survey of India ten years ago to become professor of Geology and Minerology in Manchester university, but returned to India in 1918 as president of the industrial commission. He organised and presided one the Indian Ministars Board which did work of incalculable value in providing material supplies for the allied forces. Accompanied ~~wife~~ by his wife and daughter, Thomas Holland leaves London tomorrow for India to organise the central Department of Industries the establishment of which was

recommended in the Commissions report. Tempting financial inducements were offered him by great business concerns to remain in this country and associate himself with them. He has been xxxxxx entrusted with the difficult task of getting to machinary of the men department into working order. In the course of his statement Sir Thomas Said.

As the joint Select Committee have endorsed the Mantegu Chemsford Scheme preforms in all fundamental essentials, and have even extended certain details and have in a xxxxx liberal direction, it was probable that parliament will accept substantially the new Government of India Bill. Consequently those members of the Indian Services who have stated that the reforms introduce onforeseen and disadvantageous conditions not contemplated. in their cohenants (Covenants) may have to decided soon whether they are to remain in harnes to to apply for release.

It is probable, however, that a definite statement of the new policy by Parliament will result in the touring down of expressions by both the advanced Indian politicians and the conservative offical. Nobody will be mone surprised, and even alarmed, than the truly patriotic politicians, by this Generous and full concession to his demands, for he has now to shoulder highly responsible duties for which his long habit of destructive criticism is now a handicap them a qualifications. On theother hand the offical by usage, will realise that his first duty is to fit the administrative policy, and even is relinquishing his accustomed authority to another, his judicial instinct and habit of a thing only in the Public interest will xxxx provide machanical safeguards.

But in the interests of India and therefore, of the Empire, something more is wanted their non resignation which the Joint Committeeseems to contemplate.m If the experienced members of the Services now for sake India during the delicate process of transfer on before Indians are framed able to shoulder their new responsibilities much of the work that cost the lines of great and denoted public servants in the past will be the done. The Indian Civil Service is justly proud of its unequalble recond of effecient devotion to the public interests. The great experiment about to be inaugurated gives the modern members of the services an opportunity to justify and confirm their glorious traditions.

As one of those who feared, in company with many Indian friends, that the proposed schedule of transferred subjects would file on the familiar shoulders a dangerously and even unfairly, many initial burden, my example in reenlisting after enjoying for some years the profitable advantageous of freedom from official honors may appeal none effectively than my advice to those who find it difficult to balance the apparently conflicting claims of conscientious conviction and discolinary duty.

The first thought of the official administration as opposed to the politician, should be obviously to prepare for his own supersession by giving facilities for the training of his duly appointed succession. In this task as smaller as in the accustomed practice of carrying on the Country may rely on the Indian Civilian to do his best to prevent the dissatrous effects of failure.

2-1-1920 MadrasMail

3.

CHAMBER OF PRINCES.

Agu Khan's suggestions.

Writing in Pall Mall Gazettee' the aga Khan who was uncertain of the proposals regarding the chamber of Princes says this idea was one which was advocated by the Maharajah of Baroda, 25 years ago. It remaind as a pious thought even afterwards.

~~xxx xLordxX~~ Lord Curzon's interests says His Highness was centred in bringing the Princes together to consider questions affecting themselves only. Lord Minto washed to create a sort of senate composed of the Princes and the Principal landowners of British India. Lord Hardinge inagurated the Princes' council, advisory and consultation possessing the roots of executive power and with a plan to deal with the education of the princes. That is about as far as the matter went under Lord Hardinge.

My idea is that British India should be divided into a Federal system of Government consisting of Senate Princes and Government. The Government is however in willing to relax its authority over the Governors.

NATIONALISATION INEVITABLE.

The Government of India should control All India questions such as railways telegraphs foreign affairs etc., The Montegue Chemsford proposals retain too much authority over internal affairs and are not far recalling enough. Each Government should be much independent in internal affairs, after the ~~xx~~ manner of the Governors of the states of the American Union, who are visavis the President.

For myself, I consider that there should be

an Imperial Representative chosen from among the members of the Royal family, and an Imperial High Commission possessing the Confidence of the English Government to control foreign affairs in India. The Indian Princes are anxious to comes into line or Imperial questions as shown by their conduct in the war, but they are jealous of autonomy.

Nationalism is inevitable. It will be an indication of bad statesmanship if it takes an anti-Imperial form. There is no reason why then should be any difference between Nationalism and Empire. I consider myself a better Imperialist than the Anglo-Indian who desire that the situation should remain as it is.

India's greatest economic need is to come into complete touch with the great world markets those of the United States, Europe and restored Russia. India must sell her goods both in the raw and in a highly worked state. But she could not do this if she did not belong to the Empire. On the other hand, the richer India grows the more she will buy from England A prosperous happy India would buy ~~from lines~~ four times as much as the India of to day. There is every reason why we should ultimately do a great import and export trade "luxury goods".

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6-1-1920

THE FIELD OF POLITICS.

Leader.

The cloose of the season of conferences enables us to survey with some degree of accuracy the field of Indian politics as it has been demorcated by the Refors act. Our correspondent "Politicus" in his second article invites us to take a cheerful view of the prospect and we shall endeavour to act up to his point of view. We suppose that the most stroking feature of the scene is the abruptness with which the Act and the Proclamation have checked the flood of agitation which was threatening to swamp the plan, and have ~~diluted~~ diverted it into a number of irrigational channels which promise to give to Indian politics or more beneficient fertility than they have hitherto enjoyed. And if we may presue the metoppor with reference to the Politicians we should say that another immediately visible result is that some of them have been left high and dry and others hopelessly water cogged. In our own presidency we have witnessed the remarkable saluage of the non-Brahmin movement which if carefully fost red should exercise an enormous influence on the destroy if the state. Of still longer significance is the emerging of the National liberal Federation a body of enlightened political though upon whose development and success the justification of the Reforms Act may be said to depend. With regard to the All India Muslim Weerful depend. With regard to the ~~All to the~~ All India Muslim Weerful although in some respects it rests eye to eye with the congress we are inclimed to think that its future tendency will be to concern itself more intimately with Muslim interests

than with congress politics. It has shown a resolve to act up to the spirit and the letter of H.M's proclamation which is in pleasant contrast to the left handed salutation granted to it by the Congress. There remains the National Congress shown of much of its prestige and now the representative of a particular sect of politics but undoubtedly possessing a great power for good on evil.

It is of course, much too early to attempt any for cast of the parties which may take shape render the new dispensation. There appear to be numberless permutations of the Party system possible In India and it is quite impossible to forsee into how many grouped their multitude of class interests may be distributed. But we think that the Nationalist congress and the National Liberal Federation are likely to continue to the two main camps of political rivalry, and for the moment public interest is chiefly contentrated upon the preliminary round between antognists.t The advent of the Reforms act has tested both in a manner which may be taken to give the use to their fortunes. The monster meeting at Amirtsar gave the Act a contemptnous reception. In fact, that times the audience must have wondered whether self glorification was not a more important ~~there~~ thing than self Government with some of the speakers. On the other hand, at the comparitively small meeting in Calcutta the Act and proclamation met with a most cordial and loyal reception. But if any judgement is to the formed from such criteria as the character of the proceedings and the practical contributions to the business before the meeting are should say that the ~~undict~~ verdict must be that the select assembly in Calcutta had may much the advantage over the

big battalions at Amirtsar. We do not admire every item of the programme submitted by the Federation. But the National Liberals have presented a policy which can claims to be constructive and statesman like and which offers a platform on which Indians, irrespective of caste or creed, who hold that self Government must proceed along sound and constitutional lines can take their stand.

Sir Benode Mitter's definition of the Congress as a Party concern which simply registers the decrees of its Extremist executive was singularly justified by events. The handful of leaders who control the congress furnish a wonderful exhibition of the triumph of mind over matter; but we presume that in a kingdom where everybody is blindly extreme, the ~~even~~ one eyed Extremist holds sway. At any rate, the out eyed ones on the plat form had little less difficulty inforcing their views upon the audience than upon one another. To say that they were invariably violent and ~~impratical~~ unpractical would be an exaggeration. A few Danniels inspired with a sence of moderation dared to stand forth in the den of lions, and though these prophets were sustained by no supernatural power to "shut the lions "mouths' that would indeed have required a miracle their personality compelled a hearing and gone some relief to what was generally an orgic of virtueperation and self concent. An honour to the Hon'ble Mr ~~xxxx~~ Sarma in particular for his intervention in the cause of fair play and common decency towards Lord Chemsford. But the most rushing comment upon this but of mudflinging was that it disgusted the audience who put a stop to it. We do not dispute that the recall of the Viceroy may to some minds seem a matter of first class importance, but we fair to see anything but silly spitfulness in spending so much time

and virtuperation over a subject on which the meeting was obviosuly agreed from the outset.

The same infirmity distinguished the debate upon the Reforms. Six hours were devoted to discussing whether the Act was disappointing or only inadequate and unsatisfactory, and at the end of it all a compromise was reached amounting to not much more than a 'Thank your for nothing' to Mr. Montague And this is "the lead" which some of the speakers were calling upon the congress to give to the cocentry! We are quite ready to give due weight to the appeal of "Politics" not to pay over much attention to the violence which marked so many of the speeches, and from what our correspondent told us we can well believe that there were nationalists at Amirtsar who were not altogether satisfied with the performences. But the only influence which emerges with any deserves from the debate upon the reforms is that a section of the extremist party, and an influential section has determined upon obstruction and not co-operation, as the shortest path to self Government obstruction is a legitimate form of Parliamentary opposition. But it is usually the weapon of a mijority who have no better on none effective means of recommending their policy. It is rather the implent of a 'bankrupt' than of a constructive statesman, and the rules of procedure are generally framed to reduce its effectiveness to a minimum. No doubt this would be the most acceptable as it is the most familiar mode of operation to several of the Extremist Party's Leaders. But a policy of obstruction never if it led to a some forward. It pleat Parnell, and he do not for one mement believe that where he failed Messrs. Tilak and Pal will succeed. So long as the congress remains under sway of such reactionaries so long must the Congress be no place for men of Amritsar and Calcutta before them, there is no longer any excuse for the

men of these views hesitating as to which of the two rival camps they should join.

MADRAS MAIL 9-1-1920.

Mr. V.S. SASTRI ON THE REFORMS ~~Leader~~.

Under the auspices of the Madras Liberal ~~Legue~~ League the Hon'ble Mr. Srinivasa Sastri undertook yesterday evening the taks of explaining to his countrymen what the Reforms Act means to them. No one, we venture to think is better fitted by reason of his traninig and experience, and by the first hand knowledge ~~what~~ which he has acquired of the circumstances under which the Reforms Act which into being, to discharge this task. His speech was, in our opinion, conceived in a spirit of lofty patriotism and enlightened moderation which at the same time did not fail to take note of what, in his judgement, were short comings the new Act. To those whose minds are not clouded by feelngs of bitterness and hatred against the bureaucracy the Srinivasa Sastri's speech makes out very strong case for ac eption the Reforms as a substantial and satisfying instalment of Home Rule. He has totalled up the gains and lossess of the Reforms act as compared with the schemes perforward for consideration in the Mantague Chemsford report and at latter stages, and we think that Mr. Srinivasa Sastri has succedded in crediting a considerable balance to the Act. The measure of the liberality of the ~~men~~ new ~~chater~~ Character is the hystorical attack upon it by the Extremists it for no other reason than that their opportunities for playing upoh "popular grievances" will be considerably circumscibed. If not wholly lost in future. Collected from all parties of the country, Extremistsm ran riot it Amritsar. Its members threatened at lines to dethrone its leaders.

It is perhaps not generally known that at one stage of the subjects committee proceedings both the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malainga and Mr. Gandhi are reported to have announced their ilution to secede from the Congress. If we have ganged the situation aught the patiencex and for ~~hearence~~ bearance of these two leaders will be tired to their utmost during this year, and we shall not be surprised if the reported threat of secession on their part becomes an accomplished fact, thanks largely to the violent elements who are determined to eradicate from the Nationalist Party any suspicion of moderation of weakness.

The Hon'ble Mr. Sastri established beyond doubt by his careful analysis of the provisions that the Act of the Indians "tangible material and substantaal things which are not to be merely despired and put away" that the best interests of the country and not mere political expediency, justifid their accepting them with earnestness and goodwill. His desciption of the Amirtsar proceedings, especially the Presidential x adress as being "exceedingly enourmous, absolutely wide of the mark lamentably definent in estimate deplorably out of focus" will not be considered too strong by those who have had opportunities of watching the complete sway which extremist consults had over the deliberations of congress. Mr. Sastri has rendered a patriotic service in coming forward to ~~respect~~ not merely a friendly, but an enthusiastic welcome to what has been offered in the Royal proclamation. The hope for future lies in the new electorates being educated in the exercise of their new responsibility and it is to teaches of Mr. Sastri's cabinet that the coentry

must look to give an impetus to a revolutionary movement which moderate leaders should spread throughout the Presidency.

12-1-1920.

AMIRTSAR CONGRESS

SATYAMURTHI'S LECTURE.

Speaking under the auspices of the Madras Provincial Congress Committee delivered the following speech.

Mr. Satyamurthi said that his purpose was not to justify the congress though people with prefixes and suffixes ~~attended~~ attached to their nakes [names] have condemned it, It was the supreme body in India representing public opinion. Before passing on to the work of the Congress he referred to its condemnation by Mis Besant who referred her wrath on it on account of the loyalty resolution having been manled in the subjects committee. If they were at fault they who every with Mrs. Mesant who disclosed what took place at the subjects committee. When the speaker condemned the resolution regarding the excesses done by the mob he did not reveal anything that transpired in the committee. He had objected to that resolution as nothing was disclosed to fix the responsibility of the excesses on the mole, granting that some irresponsible people did commit excesses they were already furnished several times. The congress might however talk up that task of reconding evidente in a legal manner this giving an opportiunity for all concerned to depend their conduct;

According to Mrs. Besant officers responsible for the Punjab atrocities might be impeached. The lecturer affirmed that impeachment was quite different from condemnation. The Impectment of Waranhastings proud a failure and the House of commons rather honoured

him. On thecontrary General Dyer, according to his own admission, was condemned. The speaker then replied to the enormous statements made against him by Mrs. Besant. He at no time of his stay in England condemned the Home Rule League to which she belonged. He then dealt with the several points raised by the Hon'ble Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri in his recent lecture at the gokhale Hall. The speaker did not agree with Mr. Sastri's 11 points. He reminded him and Mr. Surendranatha Banerjee that it was idle to contend that the Moderates improved the Reform Bill in some measure as they were already satisfeied with the scehme adumberated even before. Mr. Montague ~~gone~~ Gave than what they deserved and that the Joint commitee want a step further by granting them some thing in addition. His ~~coutation~~ Contention was that the reforms were in adequate because they did not satisfy the five fundamental demands made by the Congress.

The fiscal autonomy which was granted was not automony at all but simply a bogusone. That was why the Reforms were unsatsifactory, disoppointing and inadequate. The Moderates and the Extremists differed widely. The latter considered that India was absentely fit for self Government. The labour party would come into power with in the respect fonm years; when it would certainly accept the Reform Bill and give India complete self-government. Mr. Spor has asked them to agitate on an enor-mous scale not only in India but in England.also. The labour Party stood by the Congress and not not by the Moderates Mr. Adanson sent greetings to the Congress and not to the Calcutta congerence, was not justified in demanding self Government for India as it was none reporesentative now than it has hither to. Why should India accept

the Reforms when the Milner commission was rejected in Egypt and Home Rule in Ireland? The Hindu Muslim Unity was in getting stronger and strayer, and this was evidenced in one of the resolutions adopted by the All India Muslim conference recommending the avoiding of cow killing on Bakrid day.

In conclusion he appealed to the British public to grant India selfGovernment at once last the country become another Ireland Or Egypt.

13-1-1920.

SITUATION IN INDIA

MR. MONTAGUE'S VIEWS.

Mr. Montague interviewed by a representative of the "Pall Moll gazettee" emphasised the tremondous advance which India had made internationally and imperially during the last year. Mr. Montague paid a tribute to the remarkable degree to which Lord Sinha had won success and confidence in the House of Lords. He said that the reception of the Government of India Bill in India had been satisfactory. It was true that an important section of Indian opinion regarded it was inadequate and a considerable section of European opinion regarded it with misgivings, but from the Newspapers and from innumerable telegrams from representative bodies and individual leaders and Princes, he deduced a unanimous determination to work the most of the opportunities afforded and thereby earn further advance.

Referring to the carrying out the recommendations of the public Service Commission Mr. Montague emphasised that the services were vital to the progress and good government In India. He hoped that no more would be heard of the regrettable disposition in some quarters to grudge pay to service men. Ther was a record of which England and India might be proud.

The Punjab disorders:

Referring to the recent committes in the English Newspapers on the evidence before the Hunter committee Mr. Montague said that he was determined to say nothing about the cause of the troubles in the Punjab on April on matters which were causing anxiety and perturbation in England. He emphaissed the high-

standing representativeness and impartiality of the Hunter committee.

With regard to complaints regarding the delay in the assemblingx of the committee Mr. Montague point out that it was impossible to conduct an enquiry except in the cold weather and the time had not been wasted for all concerned had been busy in makking careful investigations with a view to presenting evidence.

With regard to the complaint that the British public and the India office were ignorant of the details of the occurances untill the evidence reached England the Montague Reemphasised that having decided that the Hunter committee should inform the public of events in detail, the India office had nothing to do but await the results of the enquiry. Mr. Montague ~~residental~~ that the report would be published as soon as it was received and it would be ~~ear~~ fair to form conclusions from the short summaries of extracts from the lay evidence published in the newspapers. It was reprehensible to anticipate the publication of full documents and the finding of the enquiry.

The public must bear in mind the terrible responsibility resting on officers civil and military, for prompt action in fulfilling their duties to the communities in their charge in a dangerous situation of this kind, and however disquieting any features might be the public should give His Majesty's officers the support to which they were entitled th This aspect of the case must be kept in mind in their natural anxiety for the reputation of the British Government for merciful and orderly administration and anxiety for the lasting wounds which such drastic action must inevitably produce.

The time for considered judgement would care when the committee had reported. No comments should be made more action contemplated till the end.

LORD CHEMSFORD: Mr. Montague very strongly deprecated the efforts of some Newspapers in India to differences of opinion between the Government of India and the India office. He declared that on every matter of policy Lord Chemsford and he had kept and would keep consistently in touch. The work he described had been accomplished in full record and the closest copperation Lord Chemsford deserved the tributes paid him by all his well wishers in India for his leading share in that work. Mr. Montague said he hoped that when Indians were receiving new opportunities to serve India the News-papers in India, Indian and European would do will they could to avoid anything which might promote quarrels between different parts of the administration on the Pungabs in India share was much reforms industrial legal judicial and military to accomplish in India and cooperation could only increase the difficulties and make more dangerous the obstacles which partnership could over come.

14-1-1920.

The Present situation

In a latter to the editor

A Correspondent Notes:--

After listening to the lucid exposition of the political affairs of our coountry at present so elequently made the other day by our renewal coountry men Mr. V.S. Sastriar, one cannot but come to the conclusion that the stage of discussion.world is pase and that we must have to the civilised would, which is now so keenly watching our evolution that we are capable of a certain innocent of practical work and that we have out grown the stage of merely offering some destructive criticism a charge which has been so often rightly cencelled against is by our European an Anlgo Indian fellow citizens. The programme of the distribution of seats in the reformed legislative council, recently published by the Government of India shows that the Government mean real business already set in motion. It is a pity that our business, already leaders are yet warying over the ortical points and spending their energy in reviewing the various clauses of the Act, which they would agree to or differ from in the course of practical effect being given to them. The open latter addressed to Lord Chemsford and published in the Friday issue of "The Hindu" (shows to wh t lengths our noisy politicians can go but the world had yet to know how many statesmen in the real sense of the Word our coountry can produce in an emergency. Most of our patriots have yet to learn that there are to side to every question and if you small real danger in a much on a measure the proper way to tackle the situation is to talk less and act none in the way of seeking remedies for our grivences real or imaginary. Let us show to the world in the coming elections that we

out grown the silly prejudices of caste or need and them even without our telling the world will under- stand that there is no real change between European or Musalmans or Hindu Brahmana Or Non-Brahman. It is too much to say that all European are down right bureaucrats and that they are incapable of feeling any sympathy for Indian aspirations. We easily forget so often that all our awakening, our knowledge of Politics, the amount of security of persons and property we now enjoy, the freedom of speech as engindingly accorded to us, and a host of other privilages we now enjoy are all due to the very bureaucrats who has now we come an object of so much devision at our hands. A high sense of duty and responsibility and a scrupulously well balanced mind are essentially necessary for a real politician especially in our cocentry at present and so it beloves us to grapple with hopes of steel all tose who take a sane and moderate new of things.

This very east to attribute motives to leaders who do not share our views and earn cheap popularity by crying hoarsely from housetors. It is not altogether true if a Brahmana Says that every non-Brahamana is an Anti Brahmana and that the one has no just cause for compalaint against the other more is it a fact that every Brahaman is a hairbrained fool whose sole object in life is to outstrip everybody else in the race of life. It was with feelings of regret that the writer had to take note of the silly proposition passed by the Non-Brahman conference against Brahman widws and the encouragement given them by government. Class hatred has been finished so far that it is a matter of great doubt whether we can set right our house without extraneous help offered

by impartial ~~inties~~ critics. This due to us that the reforms granted have not gone far enough as we have not fully utilised the opportunities given us. In spite of their great interests at strike and the barriers of so many vested interests which they had to get over our generous rulers have given us a fair opportunity be work our our political saluation and it would be the height of unwisdom if we let slip this opportunity by fittering away our energies in useless mitupwation or in seeking thankless notoriety. It is h time that we tell our school boys and young men of our universities that they will beat serve their cocentry by confirming their attention to ~~kind~~ their studies learning their betters to do what is good for them or others. It may be true that a few Englishmen who belong to the old school of politics may not quite sympathise withour aspirations but the large body of Europeans in our cocentry official and non-official will readily cooperate with us guide us in our deliberations and work for the good of this historical land. As for the writer who belongs to no school of politics and has no purpose to serve he will be none than satisfied if some substantial good of far reaching them benefits he done to his cocentry by anybody, European on Indian, Hindu or Moslman Brahman or Non-Brahman.

16-1-1920.

SELF GOVERNMENT

LEADERS

A contributor to these Colems referred the other day to the growing ~~uncernimity~~ unanimity among the various political parties in the cocentry. in the determination to make the new Reforms Act so successful as to create an ~~irrefutable~~ unfavorable argument in favour of the granting of compelte self government after the shortest possible period of population. This is an admirable ideal and one, moreover whose chief ~~mixtre~~ virtue his for apart from that political stratagy which has given it birth. For in this striving after material influence and power these must be engendered a new life and aspiration in the member sippers of self Government though which effeciency to direct the higher policies of India are made manifest with an inevitable and beneficient reaction on the health and well being of the community at large. It is a great thing to have become the builders of a future nation but even for the any fabrics of the politician and the emprical but possibly none solid structure of the new fledged statesman the foundation must be sound and the national edifice will be for every incomplete if it is not firmly based on the proper maintenance of those innumerable minor services which order the daily life of the towns and villages of the countryside. The fact must be faced that if there have been an increase in the members of those who spent their lines on behalf of the people and a greater capacity for their self constituted task there has been a far more rapid growth of ~~xxxx~~ politicians of the sort. Of the self of the men who says. " give us everything now; it is nobody's concern how well or ill we manage ~~of~~ our own affairs " So popular had been that group and so irresistable the appeal which this shri bboleth makes

to the classes to whom India ought in normal lines, to look for her leades, that there seems at present a grave danger of the politicians ousting the administration and of those high aims which dictated the reforms, national progress and communal well being. being forgotten or at any rate obscured by faction and intrigue.

There is we know a numerous and public spirited body of men in the cocentry whose perspective has not been destroyed by the charged "angle of vision" which was so variously interpreted a year or two ago; men who realised that true reformer benefits the people not the that politician that the way to self Government is found by work not by words. But unfortunately like the devil in the story the other side has all the best times". The commonsense Moderates is hampered by his realisation of hard facts and his constituents, lacking all knowledge of that complex cooperative society which is the modern western administrative borough or country and accustomed from the earliest days to look to their landlord their Rajeh on the Government for everything but the most elementary matters concerned w th the management of their village or town it is likely that these men will be merely bored when they are invited to consider the detials of ways and means and frankly alarm ed should there be a wishper of taxation. What chance have the the interesting if not actually uncomfortable things which the practical statesman has to tell his constitutents in face of the feeling slogans of the more irresponsible section? Ways and means in the views of the "all or nothing" party one matters which may with propriety be left untill they if they think them it all it is probably in connection with some shadowing schemes of tariffs or taxation of the foreigner possibly there is some idea of cutting down the military expenditure. One speaker at a recent

gathering threatened the authorities that it the new councils did not get what they wanted, they would decline to vote a penny for the army or consent to the movement of a single Indian Soldier. Possibly the money that would saved is to pay for the administration of the country. This talk of military expenditure is an example of the irresponsible oratory which creates in the minds of all practical people. Most of it will we believe disappear when India's public men assure a responsibility for the cocentry's administrative machinery But it is to be of could that outside the circle of workers there will always be a mass of those throught-less or peruse talken who are every too ready to discredit every Indian who has been given the chance of doing real work for his country in the high offices of state. Practically every one of these Indian members of Government no matter how popular they were before they took up their official post have been accused of siding th the bureaucrat against their own countrymen and though it must be said to their credit that they have held to the policy which they have to the right. In spite of many popular out in future where their retention of office depends on their popularity with their electorater the temptation to play to the gallery will be greater.

The danger which thretens ship wreck to the newly launched ship of state in this country in one which has been created by the politicians them selves. Having brought into being a Press which concerns itself with politics of the more irresponsible sort having brought about this "atmosphere favourable for reform "how will our new statesman control it when they them selves constitute and administration which their followers have been

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taught to re gard with such suspicion. How will they give public approval for sound policy and unassuming progress when they themselves have led the demand for sensational charges and violent appeared? The more for sighted among the country's leaders have recognised the danger and are doing what they can meet it: We see appeals in the now moderate Press that party divisions should be abandoned for the present the people have learned to work together for the good, of the country's as a whole. But we see little prospect of complience on the part of the extremist section. Politics they believe ha-ve won them recent. Victories and politics they will have. It was announced at the last meeting of congress that the party which declines to recognise the virtues of the Reforms Bill will contest every possible election with the intention of placing in power a majority voting solid for complete autonomy in demostic affairs and in this clash of party strife the mass of the people is likely to receive but scant attention once it has recorded it vote. The extre-mist programme as we have shown is likely to prove a most effective one in the note catching campaign and although the more solid public work of the moderate wing will be recogni-sed in lay rear this can hardly be expected for some time to come while the Indian electorate is untrained to distinguish the second from the substance, the chemical from the real. The only influence which we can imagine as capable of contracting this dangerous tendency is the ~~pending~~ purely personal. If clear sighted men can be enlisted on the side of the Moderate leaders to guide and concerned their none impressionable fellows, some thing may be done to counter act those tendencies which now make and on the dissipation of energy in

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profitless political talk. But the task is not and its accomplishment call for the enthusiasm and unremiting energy which we must confess nowadays none apparent in the opposition compe~~tition~~ their among the and onces representijng the ideals which we desire to see brought into being.

17-1-1920.

LORD SINHA INTERVIEW AT BOMBAY

When interviewed by a Associated Press representative today at Bombay Lord Sinha said (Bonarjee's residence)

I am glad to find that all shades of opinion in India are agreed as to the necessity of working the Reforms Act, which has just been passed, in a spirit of harmony and co-operation. I cannot help thinking that in view of this it was unwise and to my mind, unjust first to say that the Act does not satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the Indians and second to threaten further agitation. So my mind the best agitation for the purpose of increasing the sphere of our responsibility would be to try and discharge in a manner most satisfactory to the people of India the responsibilities which are now proposed to be devoted upon us. Let me illustrate this buy a concrete example. I will assume that the local Self Government education and sanitation will become transfered subjects. They are all important are will take our energies to a very great extent. Instead of diverting our energies in asking for other subjects like Law and order to be immediately transfered I venture to think that it is the part of wisdom to begin from now to formulate our policy with regard to each of these to each of these subjects Local Self Government, education and sanitation. How are we going to find money for them? In what direction can we expand them? Probably survey is necessary, in addition to what has already bear accomplished to by the local Government. We shall have to begin to carry out that policy early next year. Are we

ready with any? I think not. It will, therefore, be waste of energy of which we do not have a superabudnance, to begin agitation for the purpose of obtaining control over the departments of xxxxxLaw and order. I mention these merely as examples. They can be multipled and infinitum.

I venture to remind my countrymen of H.M's appeal for co-operation without it the act will be a mere paper constitution and the good will be parliament is concerned it will not look with favour upon any alterations proposed before the next statutory commission investigates the whole subject matter. After all even if we have to wait for another period of 10 years it is not such a very long time in the life of a nation. The eyes of the world will be upon us. They will watch with interests, how we succeed in working constitution which is now our. It is my firm beleif that if we do not succeed, inxx working the Act effectinely we shall not retain the sympathy of most if not all who helped as in the post.

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23-1-1920.

INDIANS NEW ERA

A PARIS PRESS OPINION

The Pris 'Temps' commenting on the new Parliamentary regime in India annoucned in King George Proclamation, says:-- "It is with lively interest and cordial sympathy that France will follow the development of this new effect. As a great colonial power shwe will find there in useful information. As the Ally of Britian the Government of which shows clerly its desire to reconcile the rights and duties of both cocentries in the East France desires that the problem of India should be evolved in peace". Speaking of the reasons which induced Britian to make the change, the "Temps" gives a very friendly resume of recent conditions and events and comes to the conclusion that Britain will suceed in her new effort while noting voting that internal policy in India is likely to have a growing influence on the external policy of the Empire a subject of interest at a moment when the settlement of the Eastern question is under consideration.

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28-1-1920.

THE REFORMS.

Mr. BANNERJEE'S SPEECH? CALCUTTA.

At the weekly meeting of the Calcutta Rotary club held yesterday, under the Presidency of Kannady Mr. Surendranath Banerjee delivered an address on the Indian schemes of reforms. After referring to the growing friendliness at solidarity xxxxxxxx between the Europeans and Indians in this city Mr. Baneerjee said,

Politics, religion, social reform, expression of civil life development of industries and growth of spirituality are all interblunded and interlinked. They act and react upon one another and strengthen one another by their natural intuaction. You cannot introduce a political reform of any importance or magnitude without affecting your activities in other departments of life. The authors of the Reform scheme sought to confer on our people a richer gift than India had every enjoyed a gift of elevated manhood responsible public life, of increased and increasing national self respect and all that the possession of these high moral qualities implies. They voter will begin to think that he is somebody in the land that his vot ecocnets for soemthing in the counsels of the Government of Higher sense of civil status will be infused into his mind. He will lift up his head amongst his fellows. The whole of his life and conduct will be coloured by his ~~pore~~ new status. His awakened xxxx sense of self respect will have an elevating effect upon his mind and character

If he is an agriculturist or an artisan on a trader he will be a better agriculturist artisan and trader for the note and, with a thriving class of agriculturiests artisans and traders the material interests of the country and those of trade and communal are bound to impore.

Mr. Bannerjee than dwelt at length on the social influence of the Act. Among other things he said:-- Social relations between European and Indians will greatly improve and they will be pleased on a better and higher footing of mutual trust and of mutual respect. Public affairs will occupy a larger place in our daily activities then now. There will be closer and more feequent opportunities of contact between Europeans and Indians in the discharge of public duties. The social and political sides of our lines will be broadened and softened by this daily and increasingly friendly inter course. We shall learn to know one another more and to respect one another more. The fact cannot be disguised, and nothing is to be gained by concealment that there were many members of the European community who were frankly mistrusfful of the reform proposals, They though that they were a little too premature and a little too advanced. The verdict has gone against them. The British democracy have declared that responsible government is to be the end aim of British rule and that it is to be attained by prograssive stages. Your status and our status is the same. And here let me make a frank confession of faith on my behalf as well as of the great Party to which of belong. We the Moderate Party believe that the connection of England is a divine dispensation

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ordered by the holiest and the Higher. We further believe that India will not attain to the full height of her stature take her place among the free nations of the earth and fulfil the high destinies in the Providence of god or here allotted portion in the evolution of humanity except by and through association with the freest engine the wo[illegible] has ever seen. Therefore do I appeal to your represen- tations of the European community members of the Empire friends of ~~here~~ human freedom to stard by us to cooperate with us in ensuing the success of the real experiment upon which the honour of England is stated and the future of India so largely depends. I am sure I do not appeal in van. I am strenghtened in this hope by the consolidity of your reception and the kind and sympathetic hearing which you have accorded to me and for which I am truly grateful. A.P.

29-1-1920.

INDIAN REFORMS COMMITTEE IN LONDON.

There is no doubt that the Indian Reforms committee which has been formed in England to support the Indian Moderate Party there is representative, enough. The only two members to whom some of our readers may require an introduction is Lord ~~England~~ Clwyde who will be better known to them as Mr. J.H. Roberts the sons in law of the late Mr. W.S.Caine and Major ormsby gore. Those who read the parliamentary reports especially the interpellations must have been struct by the remarkable knowledge some of the latter gentleman's questions evinced of Indian affairs particularly in regard to matters that are still under the surface. The secret of this, is that he is being coached by one high up in the administration in India and has access to all the infromation public and confidential that is available. In view of the prominent part Lord Charmichal took in the inauguration of this meeting it may be interesting to know what his views are of the first effect of the coming into force of the Montague Chemsford Act. This he says, will be the expedition among Indians of a new heaven and a new earth but with practice will come disappointment when it is disconcered that the charge has not been so wonderful after all. Indians will find that there is greater difficulty in governing than is now anticipated. With a political party out of office in England they imagine that they can do much more than actual circumstances will permit when the time of accomplishment arrived.

If in England, with years of experience they still meet with disappointment have much now disappointed will the Indians we who have had no experience. Lord Carmichal hopes that in this contingency they will

begin to look for help among British officials whose influence ought to grow rather than diminish under the new system.

4-2-1920.

RESERVATION OF SEATS TO NON-BRAHMINS.

Sub Leader. Notes;

We understand that the Government of Madras, will soon issue a press communique on the subject of the recent conference on the question of the reservation of seats for the non-Brahmin Communities, which is reported to have ~~ruled~~ ended inconclusively. The position, so far as we have been able to ascertain it is that one section of non-Brahmins will be satisfied with a majority of 60 per cent and the seats reserved while the uncompromising section will have nothing short of a minimum of 75 per cent. Such an extravagant demand has, we hear not unnaturally led to a moment among Brahmins who are contending that the word 'Reservation' can only mean a minimum and not a maximum that in no case can reservation exceed 50 per cent. Reports have r eached as at the same time that certain members of the non-Brahman communities will not be content even with the decision of the arbitrations appointed by the Government of India, but propose to adopt and thus keep the members of the controverysy alive relying upon the chance of a political corp in England.

5-2-1920. MADRAS MAIL.

REFORMS AND PANCHAMAS.

In a letter to the Editor.

In his opening speech at the session to the Imperial legislation council referrring to the Reforms and the Madras franchise H. E. The Viceroy stated that the depressed classes would be represented as widely as possible. His Excellency's Government have kindly supported then claim for six seats in the Madras Legislation Council and the Madras Government have recommended that the member of seats should be right. The Government of their Excellencies Lord Chemsford as Lord Willingdon are thus entitled to the deep gratitude of the hitherto unrepresented people whom the Madras Leader of the much favoured Moderates tired to representative Imperial legislative Council as would prefer a Brahmin oligarchy to the British bureaucracy. In the light of the traditional policy of charactristcl justice of British administration, Panchamas are granted the right of participation in the legislative function of the land and it is hoped that when the Legislative assembly is constituted H.E. Lord Chemsford will appoint to it Panchamas from Madras Presidency though perhaps when it so happens the Hon'ble Pandit Malaviya may resign his post and return an agitation. It is also hoped that of the six or eight seats reserved from them in the Madras Legislative Council be assigned exclusively to Panchamas of Malabar The authori Dravida Sangam of Calicut has at a public meeting held on the 31st January adopted a resolution to request the Government to make provision for that no one well acquainted with the peculiar conditions,

of the Panchamas of Malabar can deny the properity and reasonableness of this demand. I hope that H.E. Lord Willingdon will give due consideration and attach sufficient weight to this request of the Malabrar Panchamas.

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10-2-1920.

Mr. Montague on India.

Conditions and Prospects.

In the Pall Mall Gazette of the 8th Janaury appears the report of an interview granted by Mr. Montague The secretary of state said:--

A tremondous has been done during the post year internationality and imperially India has been represented as a full member of the Imperial confernece and the Imperial Cabinet she has been directly represented of the peace conference and Hindus and Mohammadans have had direct access to the Council of ~~xxxx~~ Four. She is an original member of the League of nations, and she was represented by adelegation of three British and three Indians at the International Labour Conference at Washington on complete equality with all other countries.

Parliamentarily the first Indian member of the House of Lands and the first Indian member of the Home Government has won to a remarkable degree success and confidence in that chamber and the committee of Parliament charged with framing the Bill to to charge the constitution of India has listened to and amended the measured in consequence of evidence given by Indians and sent from India for that purpose. Reception of the new Act. The reforms Bill was passed into an Act with practical unanimity in both Houses, and it has received a satisfactory reception in India.

It is quite true that an important ~~irrevelent~~ section of Indian opinion regards it as inadequate and that a considerable section of European opinion regards it with misgiving but from the newspapers from innumerable telegrams from representative bodies from individual leaders

and from Princes, I deduce a ~~ceremincus~~ unanimous determination to work the new Scheme for all it is worth to make the most of the opportunities afforded and thereby to earn further advance.

Meanwhile the year has been at last, after long delay for which the war was namely responsible great progress in carrying out the recommendations of the ~~Washington~~ Islington Public Service Commission. Arrangements have been sanctioned for recruiting a portion of each service in India, and the pay of the services has been ~~xn~~ substantially increased. These services are united to the progress and good Government of India.

I hope we shall bear no ~~none~~ more of the regretable disposition in some quarters to gudge the members these services their pay. They have patiently waited for action on the Islington commission report and the very complicated revisions of pay which were long overdue have now been satisfactorily achieved by the Government of India and the Council of India working together.

All this seems to me to be a record of which England and India may well be proud.

I want to say a word about the disquieting and anxious sides of the picture.

The colums of English Newspapers have recently been filled with reports of and comments on the evidence given before Lord Hunter's Commission which is investigating the disturbance that took place last April in India. I am determined to say nothing either about the cause of those troubles on about the matters which are, as I quite understand causing anxiety and perturbation in India and in England.

The Punjab Enquiry: ~~Inxwxxofxtha~~ In view of the grave character of the disturbances and the drastic mea sures taken to cope with them the Government of India ~~andxthexIndia~~

and the India Office in compelte accord agreed that there must be a thorough enquiry. That enquiry has been entrusted to a body carefully chosen for the high standing of its members and their impartiality. All interests are repre-sented non-official Europeans, Hindus and Mahomedans two Hindus at one Mahomedan gentleman of great eminence a civil servant a judge and a soldier. All of them have been chosen as having been identified with no view and as able to give a judicial decision. They are perused over by a Scotrist Judge of distinction.

There have been complaints as to delay in the assembling of the Committee but every one who knows anything of the Punjab will realise that it is impossible to conduct an enquiry ofthis kind except in the cold weather. The time was not wasted for all concerned were busy making careful investigations with a view of presenting the evidence.

The message of hope for the future with H.E. was graciously pleased to issue in His Roayal pro-clamation has been echoed from and to and of India, and the announcement of the approching visit of the Prince of Wales has been received with enthusiasm------ There is much reform to accomplish in India and we want co-operation recrimination can only increase the difficu-lties that have to be surmounted, and make none dangerous the obstacles which, in partmership we can overcome "

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13-2-1920.

The South India Liberal Federation and the Telegram Leader

(A telegram has been sent by a member of S.I.L.E to its representation in London).

This apprently is the telegram which was referred to in the Rajah of Ramnad's letter to us, and in the statement made by Diwan Bahadur Kesava Pillai which we publish to day. Our readers therefore one in a position to judge for themselves the character of this message. We do not know and we careless who was the sender but we venture to think that its despatch was a disservice to the S.I.L.F. and to the non-Brahmin cause generally. What was the immediate remakr of it? Why, that while there was still a prospect of a settlement by conference of the problem of reservation of seats a thoroughly prejudiced statement by Lord Sydentan was called out to India embittered with some reflections upon the supported partiality of the secretary of state for the Brahmin side of the controversy. If this sort of thing is to be permitted it will [illegible] any attempt to settle inter party differenced by round table conferences. Who is going into such a conference when he cannot be some that another member will not go behind the bulk of the meeting and arouse extraneous and partison influenced. If is surely to everybody part's advantage that this hankering to score an advantage over an apparent should at least be suppressed on those occasions when politicians

meet to try and settle their disputes by mutual concession and goodwill. The date of the message 15th January forwarded to the English newspapers by the London of the Federation reveals the reckless haste of the sender for it will be recalled that efforts at concilation were being persisted in by H.E. up to the eve of his departure for Delhi on the 17th January. As for its language one can only assure that it was chosen for the purpose of playing up to the impression fostered by the ~~xxxx~~ "~~Moving~~ Morning Post" that the voice of a non-Brahmins is the helpless ~~any~~ cry of a "poor ~~ind~~ Indian"

13-2-1920.

The Reforms Adivsory Committee.

"The Hindu" takes the government to task for inviting the Brahmins and non-Brahmins to choose six members apice to argue their respective cases before Lord Meston in the approaching arbitration on the reservation of seats. Our contemporary sconts the notion expecting the multitude of sections and subsections into which Brahmin and non-Brahmin communities of this Presidency one divided to be satisfactorily represented within such narrow limits. The objection would have had now force it Mr. Kasturi Ranga Iyengar has raised it at the conference. But we gather from these proceedings that he displayed no searchings of heart over the adequacy of the Brahmin committee men to voice the opinion of their communities and that no diffidence about the representative character of the S.I.L.F. at Madras Presidency association member prevented him from making them a perusal offer to give them 36 seats. Presumably if Mr. KasturiRanga Iyengar considered it safe to treat with the non-Beahmin representatives at the conference the Government may be pardoned for assuming that the Arbitrator may safely accept the delegates from the same non-Brahmin organisation as equally representative. A new will indeed ~~prohibition~~ is to be accepted as the authorised agent of any body accept as the particular caste or subcaste to which he belongs.

23-2-1920.

Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar on his Political faith.

Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar C.I.E. addressed a largely attended public meeting at the Gokhale Hall on saturday.

Sri Iyengar who only last week handed over charge of the office of Adovcate ~~several~~ General and is no longer a Government servant began by saying that it was necessary at the present day to make the National Congress the ~~suspense~~ Supreme authority where Indian Politics were concerned. The necessity for the congress as an institution was more than ever permenent today. To attempt to disredict the great Indian National Congress would men do. The congress was an open mena for all shades of Indian Political opinion prouded they were genuine and patriotic. To this day the Congress had not departed from the constitutional method of organisation which was one of its important features. No doubt the Congress was said now to be mostly composed of extremists. But the congress surely was not extremist in the sense that it wanted to resort to unconstitutional methods of agitatio . It would not for a moment be maintained that the National Congress which considered of a member of educated Indians, drawn from all parts of the county was for coounterencing anything unconstitutional.

The speaker was not aware that the Congress had done anything unconstitutional so far, and there was no likelihood of its doing this either in the days to come. The congress as well as every patriotic citizen of India was for the continuance of the British connection. The Congress and these belonging to it was convinced that the safety and progress of India war vouchsafed by reveuing an integral part of the great British Empire. The congress Programme should thus appeal to all shades of opinion in the country, and the speaker earnestly

hoped that all sectional organisations such as the Liberal League for one would be given the quietus soon. Sri Sivaswamy Iyer had gone the length of characterising the congress as a rebellions institution. This was untrue and Sri Sivaswamy Iyer and his followers would have been wiser and set a great example of patriotism if their allegiance to the congress had been stronger than it proud to be. Lastly the speaker appealed to all sections of the Indian community to work the Refroms with all earnestness and sense of responsibility.

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24-2-1920.

THE NEW MODERATES. LEADER.

The Indian Moderate if we are to beleive all that has been said about him was netither flash fowl now good red herring. He has been taunted with being an Extremist attract but not in coura e and another favourite j er was that he has "made safe" the Reforms Act for Mr. Montegu. He was using the past tense, because a changeé is taking place in the "angle of vision" from which he has hitherto been regarded. The Moderate in fact, is becoming fashionable. H e is still the butt of scorn and invective. But he is at lease being ensoled with the knowledge that a process of imitation which is said to be the sincerests form of flattery is the vague. Who none anxious now than politicians of the Nationalist Party to let their moderation be known to all men? We lately noted a preface written by Mr. Kasturi Ranga Iyengar to the Congress resolutions. It might have come from the pen of a Madras Liberal League. Its sentiments were perfect and if carried into practice in the spirit which prompted its production will make safe the Reforms Act not only for Mr. Montague but for India Indeed, the contrast between Mr. Kasturi ranga Iyerngar discourse and the Congress resolutions which it peralled was the difference which distuingushed cannedish on which from "The complete Gounester" Nobody will complain that the Nationalist oraches of this Presidency are beginning to speach with such a Moderate account on that a politician of Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar(s eminence should be done that Nationalist creed must be to work the Reforms

1-3-1920.

INDIAN REFORMS ACT.

Mr. Srinivasa Sastri.

The Hon'ble Mr. V.S. Srinivasasastri delivered a lecture at the Bradlaugh Hall, Lahore on the Reforms and how to work it.

Mr. Srinivasa Sastri who on raising received an certain sais that since he had lastthe pleasure of addressing them in that Hall the Punjab had passed though bitter experience. It was not fitting that he should speak without referring to those circumstances. There was no Indian heart which did not bleed when it had heard of the sorrows and sufferings of the people of the Punjab. Indians, whereever they had been either in India or in England had felt for them and had given their entire moral support. Everybody considered underserved the hardhsips that fell upon them. Mr. Srinivasa sastri them referred to the Privy council judgement in the amritsar not case and said that they had all heard the uncomfortable news. If their case was just in the beginning it was still first. N. judgement of [illegible] count could alter the fact. After all said Mr. Sastri though all these sufferings the Punjab was reform. There was anew public life. When this sad drama was over they would find themsevles collectively as well as individually much braver and much stronger as citicizens of Indian commonwelath than they had ever been. Mr. Sastri then passed on to his subject of the Reforms and pointed out the ways by means of which the Reforms could be utilised to their fullest extent. They should welcome whatever they had got and make that a

success and prove their ability. Mr. Sastri in conclusion said that now the Reforms Act was a part of the book statue it was no longer necessary to maintain the division of the moderates and extreemists. It was ~~lentful~~ fault to the interests of the country. It was sporting with chance and the introduction fo a party system in India would be wrong.

Lala Lajapat Rai who presided over the meeting made soon observations on Mr. Sastri's lecture. He said that there was no case ignoring the fact that there were two parties. He therefore appealed to Mr. Srinivasa Sastri that he and other Moderate leaders should insist that the Committee selected to consider the draft regulations regarding the Reforms should be representation of all sections of the country's political opinion. The Moderate members of the Imperial Legislative Council were running a great risk in this that if the rules failed to satisfy the country they would have to shoulder the whole responsibility single handed and would lose even that measure of confidence they enjoyed at present. The Reforms said Rai who an improvement over the present conditions of the country. The present condition of the country was so wretched that the Reforms were quite inadequate for the requirement of the country. This instatement of Reforms ought to have been given ten years ago. There was nothing in the Reforms act over which these should be such enthusiasm. When they recollected the sufferings and indignities through which the Punjab had passed, they could not help losing all confidence in bureaucracy, careless it was made impossible

for the viceroy and the Executive to issue an evidence which had just been declared legal lay the Privy Council and so longa as repetition of the Punjab atrocities was not made impossible no amount of reforms would help the country much.

8-3-1920.

THE INDIAN REFORMS.

DIARCHY CONDEMNED.

(PIONEER CABLE).

Mr. Ramsay Macdonald in his new book on the Government of India condemns diarchy as dumery and in every sense inexpedient. He considers that it would be better strictly to limit the powers transferred at first and allow them to be freely exercise them to transfer ~~none~~ more subjects and impose the somewhat net work of entanglements and efects proposed in the Montague chemsford report.

Mr. Macdonald advocates the extension of the representative principles but makes remarkable admissions as to what that represents and its results. There must be representation of the working class cultivating and cooperative interests. They cannot at first be effective. In the meantime some are of opinion that the lines of Indian political development will be set by the classes prepared to make full use of their political powers in their own interests. New India will be started by Nationalists and commercial minds and so far as fiscal policy is concerned they will agree that if the exessive influence of the rich classes were counter balanced by the political activity of the common people the Indian demands force, tarriff would not be so conspicuous; but as it is the legislation will errect a tarriff in the interests of the capital. The tariff will not remine village handicraft, but it will protect factory production in Bombay Ahamadabad and Calcutta Its one certain effect will be increase the pace by which India is to become a great manufacturing nation and it ought not to be granted without concurrent

legislation protecting the wage earners both in their factory and in their housing conditions. Social and labour legislation is so backward in India that the policy of rapid economic development can only which the few at the cost of many lives of the masses.

Mr. Macdoneld goes on to assure that the factory industry has created a landers and handless prota limit and he dwell on the Latter's response to Track Union methods. He produce amidst the wage earning population of India all the features of what is known is socialist quarters here as "class struggle".

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15-3-1920.

The liberal League.

Moderate Programme.

A meeting of the above League was held yesterday in the Servants of India ~~xxxxxx~~ society Royapettah, to consider the "Liberal programme".

The Hon'ble Mr. C.V.S. Narasimha Raju took the chair, In opening the proceedings, the chairman said that much had been said as regards the liberal League by those who did not belong to the League. He referred to certain charges made against the League: As regards taxation he said that they did not know their financial position and it was untrue to say that the League or Moderates adovcated fresh taxation. As regards the question of Salaries it was said by a gentleman of high position that the League wanted to enhance the salaries of the high officials but this was not so, and when the Moderate conference met at Calcutta it was said that savings might be effected by retrenchment. As regards the charge that the Liberal league members ~~xxxx~~ could not have a place in the Congress he said that they were as loyal to the Congress as the others, and he was a member of the District Association which was affliatied to the congress. He did not see any inconsistency in being both a member of the Congress and a member of the Liberal League. Messrs. Srinivasan Sastri and C.P. Ramaswami Iyer had attended the congress as members of the League. A minority had a right to have its own organisation to effectively urge its views.

Mr. M.Ramachandra Rao also repudiated the charge that they were not loyal to the Congress and as for all the Amritsar Congress was concerned he said

that in Calcutta Mr. Surendranath Baneerjee, was a party to a resolution in which it was stated that the Moderates who wished to attend the congress might do so, parti cularly owing to the situations in the Punjab.

Some of the Moderates in Bombay attended the Congress He regretted his not attending the congress. (After the split Mr. C.Vijaya raghava chariar, and Mr. S.Kasturi-ranga Iyengar that stayed away from the Congress for some years) when Mr. Ramachandra Rao then discussed some of the misrepresentations in regard to questions of Edu-cation Revenue settlement irrigation and and Panchayat system.

Mr. C.P. Ramaswami Yxx Iyer said that there was many parties and each had no programme of its own, without making any constructive political programme to proceed on they were fighting with the congress. Those people who differed from the League should send them their programme and it was only them that diff-erences of opinion might be set right. He said that there must be cooperation and it would be better to havex it considerimg the fact that they were going to the dictators of the country's policy in the future. He answered that as regards the Press act they were also in favour of its removal and the ressolution of the Moderate conference was clear on the point.

Mr. L.A. Govindaraghava Iyer, in explaining the objects of the Congress, said that the formulation and the continuance of the Liberal League was a legi-timate thing. He differed from the lead given by the Amirtsar congress on the Reforms act which said that the Reforms were unsatisfactory. However unsatis-factory the Reforms ~~sakx~~ might be the Liberal Party though they who were in a minoirty ought to help

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towards making the Reforms Act a success and he was glad to find that those who said that the Reforms were unsatisfactory were now rallying with the Moderates to wwork it successfully . He suggested for the consideration of the National Federation problems such as Irrigaton, Revenues settlement Management of Railways and other things, and herein also the Liberal League set out a programme to work out these things. The Liberal party was an older party because it has maintained its existence and policy from 1900 and the Nationalist Party was a new one in view of the fact that it care into vague after the Bombay congress.

The Moderates also worked for the removal of the Press and Rowlatt Acts, and the Nationalists he was of opinion could not work better for the country them they. The strong ~~attribute~~ attitude taken by the Liberals though in a minoirty had made the Nationlists caome round to the view of the Moderates that there should be cooperation for the working of the Reforms successfully.

The Hon'ble Mr. B.Venkatapatti Rajh said he was loyal to the Congress even though he differed from some of its resolutions. He said that it was an honour ot the a member of the Liberal League because it liberalised one's ideas. Divan Bahadur Kesava Pillay, in proposing a vote of thanks, said that the people of the country did not care either for a Liberals or Nationalist but they need men who would the work for them. Real success depended upon hard work.

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19-3-1920.

INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

INDIAN PRESS OPINION.

The South African Eurepean Press had offered on commends on the personnel or scope of Indian commission recently appointed. The south Africans League is the xxprotogonist of the anti-Asiatic agitation in the Trans-svad., and the personnel of the Commission has left an impression of great disappointment upon the league. The League regards the question as one which most intimately effects the future of the average citizen out side the usual business owing classes. On the Rand this means the working man particularly and perhaps, most intimately the employees in shops warehouses, etc., along the Ref. This big class of people, are it is considered by the League completely unrepresented. The Indan Community secures on the other hand, to regard to the commission as one decidedly anti-Asiastic.

The followng are the opinion of three of the leading Durban Indian organs. The'Dharma Vit' says:-- The relationship between India and British Empire has charged since 1914 and the considering among South Africans of Europeans descent to clear us out lock stock and branch had gained, in importance and reference. The question which we have to answer is whether we should as community recognise the commission appointed, which is said to be a fair one to all parties and which we are convinced si decidedly anti-Asiastic. The South African movement in addition has not reduced its promise of including repre-sentatives of Indian upon the Commission. We must act

rightly and manfully if we want to avoid our community being finally and completely extinguished in South Africa.

"Indian Opinion" says: In all the circumstances we feel that the wisest course in the present the Indian case before the commission in the best right possible. To refrain from appearing before the commission would not only allow statements to go unrefuted, but such action on our pant would not be understood or appreciated by the Government of India on our friends and well wispers both fere and In India.

The "African Chronicle" a weekely Anglo Danial journed published at Durban Says: The Government has evidently made up its mind in regard to trading rights of the Asiatics and therefore it seans to us that their commission is sinmply superfluous and an absolute waste of public money.

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22-3-1920.

THE KHALIFAT DAY RESOLUTIONS.

~~LEADERS~~

In his speech at the Delhi Khalifat meeting Dr. Ansar is reported as saying that it was ~~should~~ to recollect that resolutions were never framed in practical shape. This reflectionis, we think, opposite to some of the speeches too delivered at these demonstrations. We desire at the outset to acknowledge the restraint which marked the Khalifat meetings generally and the proceedings on the Madras beach in particular, and we are glad to note that the Hon'ble Mr. Yakub Husan was at pains to impress upon his audience the wisdom of patience and to disabuse the public mind about the character of the resolutions. Some of the statements which have been made concerning the strain that was being put on Indian Muslim allegiance to the King-European have had a rather minority appearance. In particular there has been the manifesto of the Muslim deputation to London, couched in terms of which in the words of the "Times", challenge, indeed the right of the British people which has ever been respectful of religions feelings but has never submitted to political dictation to determine what the policy of the British Government shall be". Mr. Yakub Husan however, has explained that no threat is to be read into the Madras resolutions and his assurance will of course be accepted. Indeed it must be obvious to agetleman like himself who has been in touch with responsible people in England that the introduction of menaces into the controversy can have no other effect than to offer opponents and to extrain friends of the Indian Muslim point of view.

Turing to the resolutions and the speeches suppor-

ting then we wish that we could discover in their some conception of the practical as opposed to the senti-mental side of the Turkist Place problems. Greatest that Indian Muslims troops were largely instrumental in overthrowing the Turkish armies and granted that they did not make their invaluable sacrificed for the undoing of the Khalif it betrayes a very narrow understanding of the circumstances of Turkey's interception in the war to expect that the Place can be concluded by the Allies Subordinating the political aspect of the situation to the religions. It was the committee of Union and Progress a body whose constitution and methods must be repellent to Indian Muslims into the war, and which is responsible for the messages and disorders that are impeding the establishment of peace. This association was paramount in Constantinople before the war, and so far from it having been extinguished with the collapse of the Turkish arms, there is evidence that is has been inaugorated as a power for evil by the Bolshmik views which has been introduced into its system. The deputation which waited on H.E. the viceroy in January it may be recalled protested that it would be an affront to Indian Muslims to treat the sultan as a mere puppet, and Swami Shaddanund in the same strain de claimed at Delhi that even if the Sultan is left in constantinople Mr. Lloyd George's warning that he would be under the guns of the Allies takes all the goodness out of the concession. But surely some regard must be had for realities and Indian Muslims who claim that the Peace shall leave the Sultan's prestige un impaired must see that the war will have been fought in main if the result is to

leave the committee of Union and Progress the power behind the Sultan's throne. Let there be no mistake about it, the C.U.P. bratunity would, if given theopportunity exercise a more despotic control over the Sultan than the old time Jamisssanies ever did.

The Madras resolution in favour of the Sultan's sufferainty being retained over the autonomous states which are to be carved out of the Turkish Empire, while it excepts the territorial partition which has already taken place as a 'fait accompli' is subject to the some informity of avoiding the relatives of the situation. The willingness of any Muslim State to recognise the spiritual on temporal Sovereignity of the Sultan must be a question to be decided by the Muslims them selves. For instance we fail to understand how the British Governments' pledge to presarve the Holly places of Islam inviolate can be interpreted as creating an obligation to compell the King of the Hedjuz to submit to the Sultan's over lord ship ~~wkxk~~ which he has elected to renounce either in respect to Medivia or in any other sphere. Let it be allowed that the India Muslim has grave cause for anxiety. The British must stand neutral in this religious affair.

25..3..1920.

INDIAN CHRISTIANS AND THE REFORMS.

A public meeting was held yesterday evening at the Centenary Hall, Popham's Broadway, presided over by the Hon'ble Mr. M.D.Devadoss Bar-at-Law in connection wit h the coming reforms.

The chairman in opening the proceedings, exhorted India Christians to hestir themselves in order to keep almost other communities in the political struggle in this country. Under the reform scheme Indian Christians were allotted only 5 seats out of 127 in the Madras Legislative Council which were quite inadequate. It was their duty therefore to appeal to the Government to give then atleast an even number of seats so that They might be equally divided between Roman catholics and Protestants. In the Imperial Legislative Council there was no representation for Indian Christians at all. The idea of communal representation was accepted and Mohammadens and non-Brahmins were given communal representation which was necessary to the affairs of the country. He would appeal them to smibe all differences and work as a United body. Thäir notes should be educated so as to exercise the franchise properly and get the best men in the Council. Mr. Mr. K.U.Luke Bar-at-Law, would the following resolution: This meeting is strongly of opinion that adequate representation has not been given to the Indian christian community of thePresidency by the allocation of only five seats in the Madras Legislative Council and earnestly prays that H.E. the Governor in council may be pleased to allott at least nine seats in the Madras Legislative council and two seats in the Imperial Legislative Council

for the Indian Christian community of South India. This meeting further prays that should H.E. the Governor in Council not see his way to increase the member of seats in the Legislative Council to view the Indian Christian community of South Didia may in addition to the five seats to be noted for by the community by allowed to contest for the seats in the general electorate as well," The resolution was seconded by Mr. P.E. Denadasan supported by Mr. D. Asirvada Nadars and council unanimously.

The president was authorised to communicate the resolution to H.E.the Governor in Council.

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29..3..1920.

LORD MESTON'S AWARD.

A NON-BRAHMIN PROTEST.

A crowded meeting of non-brahmins was held at the "Justice" Office yesterday to protest against the award of Lord Meston. Many leadnïng non-Brahmins including several members of the Legislative Council were present. Mr. P.N. Raman Pillai, editor, "Justice" Presided.

The chairman in his opening speech referred to the unfair character of Lord Meston's award, and said that what was supposed to have been achieved by their delegates in London was nullified by his Lordship. He referred to the work of Dr. Nair and the streneous agitation that must be continued if the Non-Brahmins were to come by their own. He appealed to the audience to work in the spirit of their late leader and to carry on the task to a successful issue inspite of the adverse award-

The first resolution was a s follows:-- This meeting express profound disappointment and dissatisfaction at the award of Lord Meston on the question of the reservation of seats for non-Brahmins of this Presidency and records its emphatic and indignant protest against the unsympethetic, unfair and arbitrary character of the decision.

Mr. A. Siva Rama Menon moved the resolution and in the course of his speech dealt with the unjudicial character of Lord Meston's award and emphasised that the time for petitioning the authorities had pressed and the time for sern action had come. Therefore it was

that the resolution merely protested against the award and went no further.

It was seconded by Mr. Chakkarai of the Madras Presidency association whose sppech was repeatedly applauded. He said that three years ago a nationalist non-Brahimin approached Dr. Nair. The later had told him that he would very soon be disillusioned about his Brahmin Comrades and come back to him in a more chastened spirit admitting that he was right. That time had come and he was there to confess to them that he was disillusioned in his mind regarding cooperation with Brahmins.

This was unanimously passed after two speeches one in telugu by G. Rangaih Nair and another in Tamil by S.Somasundaram Pillai.

The second resolution with an accepted amendment was as follows:-- "This meeting earnestly requests all the non-Brahmins in the Presidency to immediately organise confine and carry on an active political progaganda has to ensure the return of the reformed council of non-Brahmins and non-Brahmins only' This was chroniously unanimously carried out.

10--4--1920.

MODERATES AND EXTREMISTS.

In the course of an editorial on the Midnapore Conference and Mr. Fazl at Hug's presidential speech the 'Bengalee' says:--

We have read Mr. Fazl ul Hug's speech. This Mr. Hug all through such as we know him in his performances in the council chamber and elsewhere. A Presidential speech in our opinion should represent the collective wisdom of the xxx conference expressed in language of befitting dignity free from the taint of personal and Party bias and seeking to guide the temper the judgment and the activities of the country along paths that will establish goodwill and xxx among those whose co-operative is necessary for the success of xxx the new experiment. In all these qualities Mr. Hug's speech is singularly lacking. This a glorified sort of mob oratory not always consistant in its views or its utterances and containing advice which if followed would be prevails to the best interests of the country.
Mr. Hug. talks of the Congress voicing the views of the nation. It has ceased to do that since the Moderates have withdrawn. Does it represent Moderate opinion? And are not the Moderates apart of the nation? If it represented the nation and if the British to were of that opinion the Reforms would have been abandoned and the Reforms Act not placed on the Statute book. Mr. Hug tells the world that they (the Moderates)

sometimes condescent to open negotiations, but these were so repugnant to nations self respect." Does he remember that about this time last year on the eve of the Mymensingh Conference he and Mr. Kasim accompanied by another Extremist friend called on Mr. Banerjee at Barrackpur and begged of him to altered the Mymensingh Conference? Mr. B.C.Chatterjee, Bar-at-Law being present Mr. Baneerjee suggested the conditions which were taken down the indispensable condition beeing that the Reforms proposals must be accepted as a stage towards responsible government. The difficulty which Mr. Hug felt was that he and his party would have to chub down and go back upon what they had said Mr. Hug took with him the matter proposals promising to write him the to Mr. Baneerjee Mr. Banerjea never heard from him again. So much for the Moderates opening negotiations to be admitted into the Extremist fold.

14..14..1920.

NATIONAL WEEK CELEBRATIONSX IN MADRAS.

Notes:-- Sub. Editorial

The speech made by Mr. S.Srinivasa Iyengar at yesterday evening's meeting on the Madras back was of good fighting quality. He put the Nationalist Party case in a manner which must command the admiration of citics who disapprove at much of the matter. There is no doubt that his stating of power mark Mr. Iyengar out as the leader of the Madras Nationalists. But it is another question whether the extremist wing will acknowledge his direction. He dubbed Lord Sinha as Extremist Moderate; we are not show that his speech does not Mr. Iyengar as a politician who might be described as a Extremist. But although Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar's speech was attend to the task of his audience, and had the true partisan it ought to have been obvious to the dullest persons present the persons when John Bright was accustomed to look for a the auditorium and aim at bringing a glean of intelligence to his stupid countenance - that democration of general is not the be all and end all of political meeting addressed by Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar. The advocate care out very strong in the commendations bestowed upon the congress sub-committee's report, but the general was also apparent in the plan of campaign unfolded for making the congress party alias the Nationalist Party the Democratic Party. We do not know why Mr. Iyengar should characterise the Moderates as the autocratic party unless it be that they have a noble Lord as their leaders A single Peer seems to us to be a very slight leanen of autocracy and from what we know of Lord Sinha, we do not see much prospect of his Leauge leouening the whole lamp of the

Liberal League. We have however, a strong suspicion about Mr. Srinivasa Iyengars' insistence upon the all-embracing welcome extended by the compress to newcomes. Really the non-Brahmin Alliance will have to be on its guard against these deductions.

16-4-1920.

Mrs. Beasant$s appeal to congress committee.

(Notes: Sub.Editorial)

The appeal which Mrs. Besant has issued to the All India Congress Committee to publicity dissociate itself from the misrepresentationa made by the Hon'ble Mr. Patel of Certain of her political activities in England in connection with the Reforms, is for all practically purposes, a challenge to Mr. Patel to make good his charges on to eat his words. The first count in Mrs. Besant's indictment of the Hon'ble gentlemen is that he has alleged that She tried to persuade the Labour Party to let the Joint Commitee'xs report upon the Bill pass unchallenged by amendments. Mr. Patel apparently claims to have coaxed the British Labour leaders away from the voice of the ." They accepted my view and rejected that of Mrs. Besant "he is reported to have boasted to a Bombay Pressman. Mrs. Besant explains that the only conversation which she had on this topic was over a cup of tea with Colonel Ledgewood. The gallent colonel them suggested that, as a member of tactics, some addanced amendments might be moved as a sort of checkorate to any reactionary amendments moved by colonel. So as to open the way to Mr. Montague to reject both and get on with the Bill. Mrs. Besant says that she deferred to the Colonels deeper knowledge of Parliamentary stragegy. It is difficult to find in the report of the House of Commons debate any other explanation of the Labour Party's attitude towards the Bill. If Mr. Patel claims that such amendemnts as were moved were due to his mesmeric powers, he has not got much to be proud to we think our recollection

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is right that only one Labour amendment was pressed to a division the reminder were mere feints. The second grand upon which Mr. Patel has taken His stand appears to to still more equally. His complaint that Mrs. Besant was only half heated in the cause of woman's ~~evidence before~~ rights is assurely riddled by the lady's recorded evidence before the Joint committee and by the testimonials received by her from Mrs. Despard and Mrs. Herebar Sate. Mrs. Besant cites chapter and verse fore the statements in which she implacbes and it Mr. Patel has in fact been been faithfully reported his education in the half of political controversy second sadly defecient. What hope would there be for a party whose leader with on the ministerial benches or in opposition, was such a clemsy practitioner in the out of "tuminological inexatidude"?

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20..4..1920.

THE CONGRESS COUPON

The member who asleed asked at the annual meeting of the Madras Provincial Congeess Committee whether it had assembled to hear the programme of the Congress Party of that of the Nationalist Party but a very searching question. The chairman gave a perfectly cardial reply. He explained that if the Congress Party had accepted the principles of the Nationalists, them was nothing wrong in either term being applied to the programme. The answer was in accordance with Mr. Kasturiranga Iyengar's contention that the Congress dog wags a Nationalist tail. But it is clear from the subsequent discussion that other members of the animals anatony took the view that this tail is claiming to wag the dog and they rebelled against the candal appendage applaage presuming to exercise so unnatural a function. The result of the dispute is that the committee had adopted a resolution consistent with Mr. Kasturiranga Iyengar's claim; the electorates are called upon the return candidates who have accepted the Delhi and Amritsar Congress resolutions and the programme framed by the committee. In other Lords, the Congress coupon is the ticket of admission to the Legislative Council for Nationalist Candidates. Undoubtedly, if congress had maintained its position as an All India and Non-Party organisation hhe Candidate who entered the lists with its ticket would have entered the lists with its ticket would have had an advantage over his couponed opponent. But Congress is now a frankly partisan body under Nationalist control and its support cannot have its former moral force.

The few congress wallahs of the Moderate persuation who attended the meeting to protest against the degradation of a body which has all along been calimed to be a Nationalist institution into a Nationalist caucus, have at least demonstrated the futility of claiming membership of a ~~of a~~ concern that declives to recognise a minority. The Moderates have been proscuted as "rebels" and have been put outside the ~~grate~~ pale well, minorities must suffer.

But neeed this "Martymdom" have any serious consequences to the Moderates? We cannot believe that a Party which stands for a share Liberalism has much to loose from being out adrift from a Party which confesses itself committeed to a policy of non-coperation if not of actual obstruction, in the working of the Reforms Act. We gathered from the preface contributed by Mr. Kasturiranga Iyengar to Amirtsar Resolutions that in Madras at least the Nationalist leaders had retreated from the intolerent position taken up by the Congress towards the Reforms. That preface must have persuaded many of its readers that the only distinction between Moderates and Nationalists was practically the same as that which in England divides Liberals from Radicals. But now we have the comfort torrible of the Nationalists, Mr. Satyamurthi, Maintainig that his Party stands for the undebated acceptance of the Amirtsar resolutions. He reminded the meeting that the Congress only committeed its members to working the Reforms AcT2 so far as it was possible and with a view to secure at the earliest possible moement the establishment of self government in the country" and that any blame

for the failure of their limited labours must recoil on the heads of the Moderates. This strikes us as the doctrine of Extremistism and simple. Mr. Kasturiranga Iyengar objected to the Lord "Extremist" being applied to Nationalists. But he will really have to make it clear say, by the colour of coupons) which of the Nationalist representatives at the coming ele ctions stand for the Bowellerised version of the Amritsar resolutions exhibited in his preface, and which for the full credit interpeetation of them given by Mr. Satyamurthi. It is only fair to the electors that they should know with which voice of the Congress Party the candidate for their suffrages is speaking.

29.4.1920.

INDIANS IN AFRICA

Mr. Andrew's visit.

The following had been communicated to the Associated Press by Mr. C.F. Andrews with regard to his visit to central East and South Africa. In regard Zanzibar Phodesia and Nyasamland the Indian situation is good. Indians are regarded as desirable residents and the economic value of Indian industry and commerce is recognised. In regard intelligent people of the country have deliberately expressed though their own representation council their wish for further Indian colonials for the development of their commerce. The recently published economic report is also on the whole favourable to Indian settlement. In Rhodesia Indians have the same rights of franchise as in the Carpe province of the south African union. In both these countries in consequence Indians are contented. In Nysamland most of the pioneer railway and commercial work has been carried out by Indian traders and artisans. The administration views with favour Indian settlement. Zamzibar has a large Indian population which is both propperous and contented. He goes on:-.

Outside British territory I spent considerable time in Portuguese East Africa. The Republican Government has treated Indian residents with every courtesy and consideration. Social rights have been granted then in practically every sphere of life, and Indians from Goa have been appointed to some of the highest positions in the Colony. They are no social distinctions. In contrast with this the situation in British East Africa and in the has become so strained, owing to race animosity that an explosion of racial passion is possible at any moment.

The most careful and thoughful statesman in the South African Union told me that the Indian position in the Transwaal was for worse than that in 1913-14. I regard the atmosphere of British East Africa as no less highly inflammuble it being the common beleef that economic causes are the chief factors in this tension but after examinign all the evidence on the spot. I am convinced that the racial factor is the greatest, I have send with my own yees the treatment of Indians which fully hears out this opinion.

InN Natal I met with certain surprises. There was a distinct with in important sections to extreme anti-Asiatic attitude of the Transwaal . A greatful of the Bitterness of the year 1913-14 has subsided but on the other hand the Indian labourers on sugal plantations have not been able to rise (as they should have done) after the stoppage of all indentured recruiting from India in 1910-11. Exindutured Indians, who had served their term of contract had not improved their lot in life. Indeed having regard to the rise in princes their position was actually worse than in the earlier days. This labouring population is now sinking below the lend of the Kaffir and Zulu while the monthly wages of the latter have risen the monthly wages of Indians have fallen. I was very greately distressed when I witnessed abclose quarters, the submerged and sweated condition of the exindentured Indian labourers. Only in the very few instances for racid imporovement taken plac . In the great majoirty of the cases the labourers have xq sunk too low to rise at all.

I regard this as by far the most serious India problem in the whole of Africa. The new Parliament of the South African Union can hardly fail to be anti Asiatic in its policy. The Nationalists who have attained a greater number of seats than any other party are pledged to a directly hostile programme. The majority of the labour members of Parliament are likley to side with them. The South African Party under General Smuts cannot be relied on to take , as a united body the Indian side. Even the ~~unionists~~ ministerialists are uncertain. Thus the Parliamentary situation is in every way distictly worse that in 1913-14 when the Indian settlement was reached. The balance of power has ~~xkiffxd~~ shifted in an Anti Asiatic direction. The Indian question cannot be kept out of the next session, and, what ever the present commission may report, the Parliamentary verdict is likely to be hostile.

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4-5-1920.

33. "Non - Coperation.

Mr. Ragagopalachariar.

Under the auspices the Presidency Khalifate Committee a public meetin g was held at the Triplicane Beach yesterday under the presdiency of Moulvi Syed Murthuza Saheb. Mr. C.Rajagopalachariar deliverd an interesting address on "Non-coperation."

Mr. C.Rajagopalachariar prefaced his remarks by criticising the letters concerning non-co-operation which had appeared in "New India" over the signature of Dr.S. Subramania Iyer and Mr. C.P.Ramaswami Iyer. There was very little difference of opinion regarding the importance of the Turkish question. A great deal of dissatisfaction had been felt owing to the departure from pledges made by moment European statesmen move especially by the British Prime Minister. Subramania Iyer wrote that as a Hindu he would not co-operate with those who were endeavouring to destroy the British power by identifying themselves with things happening outside India. They were however not trying to destroy British power but to maintain it. The breach of faith by statesmen would certainly bring consequences desastrous to the empire and would indirectly weld together all sections of people. Af disruption could be brought about by breach of faith on the part of ministers people's action would only prevent the impending catastrophy. The non-co-operation programme would not embitter the feelings between the Hindu and Muslim communities if the former associated with the latter sincerely. Their programme was quite constitutioned and did not carry any violence with it. Those who adopted non-co-operation should be true and

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be prepared to sacrifice their lines and desist from violence. If geneuine Muslim feelings were really injured they should not weigh their safety against that of those who would come after them. The Muslim cause was considered to be just by way Hindu. In view of the pledge by the British statesmen the Muslims shed their blood indifferent theatres of war.

Well organised and constituted propaganda was bound to effect something good. No government could really Governm and be obstinate ingoverning a people who refuse co-operation with it. They could gain their object without raising a single gun. The muslims behind that the Government were doing things appoised to their religion and they should therefore refuse co-operation with it. No muslim need think over what the effects of non-co-operation would be and be a party to wrong doing with the Government. There was only a question of conscientious discharge of duty and not a rebellion. They could not be come a nation unless and untill the two communities cared for the sentiments of each other. They should work for attaining a national unity and if they did not it was certain that their children also would fail in their duty. The present entente between the communities was not due to identical political aims. The Hindu would he doing a great wrong if they failed to make common cause with the Muslims who were their brothers on the Khilafate question If was inexpedient that the one should be happy when the other was suffering. It was their duty to appeal on the basis of religion. The sacrifice required of them was nothing in view of the prospective gain. Their programme would certainly succeed if they were truthful, desisted from violence and refused to co-operate with the Government. The war had taught them the benefits of non-cooperation. Europe had learnt that though they bad beaten Germany they had gained nothing.

gained nothing and much less without co-operating with her and therefore raw materials were supplied to germany. In non-co-operation they had the greatest and brightest weapon. There was however, a great deal of spade work to be done before adopting the programme. They should take up this willing sacrifice.

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34. Non-co-operation.

In a letter to the editor a Correspondent writes.

I read with dome concern reports of certain recent Conferences held in Madras and other parts of India, wherein resolutions of non-co-operation with the Government were passed in the event of the latter not according to the requests of Indians in the matter o the Khilafat question. I wish to draw the attention of those gentlemen who have made the resolve to the consequence that would rise therefrom. If they refuse to co-operate with the Government can they consistently expect support and protection from the Government in respect of their persons on properties? Suppose one of them is assaulted severely by another, can that one complain to the police or the magistrate about it? They should not, consistently with their resolve not to have anything to do with the Government because the Police on the magistracy are part and pared of the Government similarly, there arises a civil dispute between the persons that adopt the view of non-co-operation, and others that also must be adjusted without the aid of the civil courts as minsifs and judges are government servants, who will not help those that do not want help from the Government payment of Government revenue is co-operation, and non-payment will entail forfeiture of property. Are these gentlemen aware of these consequences, and are they prepared for these risks when they made this resolve of non-co-operation? Discretion is the better part of ~~Labour.~~ Valour.

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Madras Mail May 27 1920.

35. THE HUNTER REPORT.

Leader.

The issues investigated by the Hunter committee have been so thoroughly prejudised that the belated appearance of the Committee's Report is something in the native of an anti climax. It was known some time ago that there was a difference of opinion among the committee men that there was an English view and an Indian view. Indeed, the proceedings before the committee and the discussions in the Press left little room for doubt that racial antagonisms entered so deeply into the matter as to preclude any chance of getting a unanimous verdict one way or the other. This does not imply that the members of the committee were influenced by the uproar of the journals in India and at Home or that they did not bring a judicial frame of mind to the enquiry. But we have satisfied ourselves, in conversation which Indian gentlemen that the Punjab crisis raised English and Indian points of view which are fundamentally different and quite irreconcilable. It is hardly surprising therefore that on practically every main issue the outlook of the Indian Committee men differs from that of the British. What is interesting is that Englishmen and Indians agree in discarding the absurd theory put forward in the congress Committee's report that the outbreak in Amirtsar and other Punjab towns wa s a species of invarious resentment by the towns folk on behalf of the rural population who had borne the full vigour of the recruiting methods in the Punjab. The Congress report did not question the fighting men were drawn almost exclusively and the non-conbatants mainly from the rural population both for the army and even in the

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Indian Defence Forces the town folk made but a slight response to the call for men though they helped generously in the war. The ~~tone~~ force inference and the Hemter Report is unanimous on this point is that the townsmen were the only people who came render the influence of the demagogues who were fanning the agitation against the Rawlatt Bills and that the conflagration was the direct result of this exploitation and the plying of an ignorant and inflamable mob with Mr. Gandhi's nostrem of Satyagraha. We hope that after the committees findings the Government in future will insist that when trouble is brewing Mr. Gandhi tires his soul force are simply upon himself.

As to the nature of the disorders we fail to understand the nice distinction which the Indian members make between "waging war" against the Government and "open rebellion was the expression used by H.E. the Viceroy in April 1919, to descline the outbreak, and that description has been endorsed by the majority report. The minority also take a somewhat ancient view of the sabotage on the railways and telegraph system and blame the authorities for jumping to the conclusion that these acts had any ~~dxx~~ clements of a revolutionary conspiracy. It is remarkable, too, that the Majority in criticising General Dyer's action at Amirtsar dissent from the suggestion that its saved the situation and entered a second sucertiny. We can only suppose that the committee which was in the privileged position of gaining wisdom after the event, was possessed of evidence supporting its judgement. But how were the men responsible for the suppression of disorders, suddenly confronted with an "open rebellion", to be expected to exercion a nice

judgement as to the extent or character of the outbreak? They could only judge things as they saw them. At a time when the British Empire was still technically in a state of war with germany, Austria Belgaria and Turkey, and when Afghanistan bad closer to commerce hostilities, a sudden attack, bearing every mark of deliberate preparation was launched against constituted authority in Northern India. Having in mind the lessons of the Ghandi conspiracy in 1915 what reason bad the British authorities for treating this excute as a mere riot? Wx XVI made the mistake of this life when be contemptously dismissed the firtst signal of the French Resolution as a "~~renof~~ revolt" and until we are given some conclusion evidence to the contrary, we shall ~~tonciuue~~ continue to believe with those who were ready "in the know" that General Dyer's action at Amirtsar did "same the situation" and that any triffling with it or show of irresolution would have been the signal for a general rising throughout the Punjab. Even Mr. Mongagu voicing the opinion of the cabinet, allows that the danger to the lines of Europeans and to the safety of the British and Indian troops may have been greater than appears from the committees Report. And the majority report, while discrediting the theory of a conspiracy to overthrow the British raj admits that a movement which had become a rebe-llion might have developed rapidly into a revolution.

On the need question of general dyer's conduct at the Jllianwalla Bogh, the Majority judgement is, we believe, in accord with the general opinion found by englishmen in India. The Criticism that the general ought not to have fired without warning is disarmed by the confession that the committee did not think that the mob would have; dispersed wihourt being fired upon. The admission supports general Dyers conclusion that the mob had been assembled there in direct

difference of his proclamation. In these circumstances we do not understand why Montague should make it a bad mark against the general that be omitted to give varning. When it comes to the question whether the General was justified in continuing to fine untill he had exausted his ammunition, we find it impossible to differ from the conclusion reached by the Majority report and emphaisised by Mr. Montagu. The General 's our in evidence by MrxxMmmgx was perfectly can did on this point; He did not attempt to excuse himself with a plea that his troops had expended noen cartudges than be bad had time to concent none it did be suggest that the mob showed any sings of resistence. The impression left by his evidence is that if his men had bad another 1,600 rounds they might have gone on firing. How many rounds mouled the limit of justifiable necessity nobody, nopenen the Hunter committee, could say. But firing upon the nob by the military is as the Montagu says, strictly governed by certain legal principles, and these principles do not permit a military officer to treat this "horrible duty"as empowering him to inflict condign punishment. The General has been convicted of misconceiving his powers in astrying a situation as any man could be placed. For this error he is to be relived of further employment in India. That is the penalty, we presume demanded by a standard of descipline which accepts the middle course as the only course which an officer must take between the scylla of doing too much and the charg of doing too little and when duty calls upon him to disperse with fire arms a riotous assembly.

The Majority criticises adversely some aspects of the of the unforcement of martial law. They reprobate the cowardly . order", and they hold that there weretoo many sentences of flagging. But they dispose of the exaggerated

stories that were but into ix circulation about the needless barbonty of the punishments and we are glad to notice that they find that many of the rumours regarding captian Don eton's faily punishments ware without foundation. Mr. Montague takes serve notice of this feature of the Martial can regime, and is inclined to say the blame on the civil authorities for not having, excersised some influence upon the military.

No doubt some cvilian control might be helpful to the military authorities in such contingencies but the new Martial Law ~~Mamal~~ Manual which Mr. Montagu has in mind will have to guard against the mischief of dicided counsels.

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36. 31-5-1920.

MOPLAHS AND THE KHALIFAT.

Calicut.

Notwithstanding the solid though blind support given to the Khalifat conference resolution by Moplah delegates at the recent Margori conference sympathy with the Khalifat agitation is by no means unamimous and a counter movement is on foot, under the auspices of leading Moplah gentlemen, strongly discouraging the non-co-operation movement and pointing out that, as descendants of Arabs, the Moplah community owes spiritual allegiance to the king of the Hedjaz rather than to the Sultan of Turkey, Ettmically, it is not correct to say that the Moplahs, as a race an of Arab descent, but historically and in the religious sense, it is certainly correct to say so for the Moplah community can into being as a result of poselytisation by the missionaries who accompanied the earliest Arab merchants and trades of this coast and who established mosques at several points. A small proportion of the Moplah community are undoubtedly of Arab blood notebly such dignitaries as Khan Bahadur P.M.Muthukoya Thangal, of Calicut the Mahadeen Thangal and P.M.Atekoya Thangal, of Ponnari the Valiayagath Thangal and P.M.Attokoya Thangal, of Quilandy all of whom, is fact claim lines descent from the prophet, but the great bulk of the Moplahs are the products of enanglisation among the several Hindu communities but most largely the depressed classes. This affect however that there is a much stronger feeling of fraternity between the Arab and the Moplah then between the latter and the ~~xxxxx~~ Turk. Occasionally, a Turk finds his way to Malabar but he is looked upon only as an interesting foreign to whom hospitality is due or the score of his faith. The

Arab on the other hand is always made to feel quite at Home and numbers of Arab merchants traders and sailors may marry Moplah wives whom they never discard. Nor is it unusual taken to Arabia and treated there with every affection and care. All need not be surprised therefore, that the first fruzy being over, the intelligence among the Moplah community are beginning to take a national view of the Khalifat agitation.

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37. 4-6-1920.

The Hunter Report "Dyer Sacrificed - British Press views.

(Pioneer Cable)

London. 28th May. The character of the publicity given here to the report of the Hunter committee affords a striking example of the methods, of 20th century and ruralism. No scrap of evidence taken by the Commission - has been published since last winter. The general view seems to be that the British people do not want to exercise their own judgement, but prefer ready made opinions. Even the findings of the Hunter committee are treated very candlerly w while a great deal is made of the opinions of the Government of India and the Montagu. Two papers of the popular type the Daily express" and the "Daily News" give half a colum each to the report but make a big display of the two despatches written upon it. In striking contrast is the "Daily Telegraph" which denotes almost is the a whole page to the text of those sections of the majority and minority reports deaty with Amritsar.

Whether may people will trouble to read the information thus provided is doubtful, that scracely and will go behind the findings of the committee to study the evidence whereon it is based is certain. Each man will probably accept the attitude of his favourite Paper and no more can be expected of the members of Parliament who are expected to debate the matter next week. The debate will certainly be vigorous. A writer in the "Globe" remarks that the committee's report "So redolent of Pagett M.P. has instead of closing the Dyer affair simply opened

things up, and adds. "Every old Indian man I meet is furious over the slur cost upon one who not only did his duty but may even be said to have saved Indian for us.

"The Westminister Gazette" in direct contradiction of this blames the generals who have defended general Dyer for risking the creation of an impression that British military opinion is sorted on that side which every informed persons knows to be far from the case. It is most important that it should be generally realised and admitted that he generally realised and admitted that the action of General Dyer was a lanentable lapse from the best tradition of the British army and that the army as whole does not do these things but abhors them"2

"The Morning Post", in a further leader on the subject today points out that the state papers issued show that the disturbances, in the Punjab were quelled by one man and that the Hunter Committee, the Government of India and Mr.Montague while contradicting one another in almost every other respect agree in condemning him even in that agreement the three nervous and bewildered authorities are inconsistent. It is stated that General Dyer did his duty to the atmost of his ability than that he failed to do it, that he is a soldier of high ability than that he failed in judgment. That he did in fact some the Punjab, the lines of hundres of European women and children and thousands of Indians and in probability India itself, and than that be ought not to have done so". The Post" goes on to desire the finding that there was no rebellions conspiracy as patently absence and reasserts that these risings were planned to Councile with the Afghan invasion.

Remembering the situatin at Amritsar, the "Morning Post" reproduced Sri Michael O"Dowyers" statement speaking perhaps with a none intimate knowledge of the then situation than anyone else I have no hesitation in saying that general Dyer's action that day was the decisive factor in crushing the rebellian the seriousness of which is now only beginning to be realised". The Post declares that the inference to be drawn from the condemnation of general Dyer taken together with the Government Indias' statement that his action more than probably prevented further manifestation, of disorder is that the Government would have preferred the manifestations to have continued. The "Morning Posts" conclusions are that under Mr.Montague's system of Government the country was on the verge of a second Mutiny that it was saved by a soldier, that that soldier has been retired and his appointment and censures, that both the Government of India and Mr.Montague become curified, that they then tried to hide behind a perfectly the constitutional commission and that they decided to sacrifice general Dyer to the suspectibilities of Indian agitators. These methods will lose India just as they are losing Ireland.

38.   12-6-1920.

General Dyer.   Descripiionary action.

(Notes Sub Leader.)

When Mr. Montague speaking for the Govern ment approved the desciplinary measure taken lay the civic in India against General Dyer, he introduced into his despatch such important reservations infavour of the general that we shall not be surprised if the House of Commons debate does not end in a decision to stay any further action by the Army Council. We hope that in the presentation of his case he given more assistance than was afforded him before the Joint Committee. The general was badly treated by the Government of India in that enquiry. He was simply thrown to the lines. WE do not intimate this history would have been any different had been given legal assistance. But there are perfectly legitimate ~~Mears~~ means of coaching a witness and presenting his testimony in a ~~xxx~~ manner that shall bring out the full strength of his case. For some inscrutable reason, it did not appear to the function of the Government adequate to give this help to the servants of Government of the enquiry. The consequence was that only some months after General Dyer stood up for cross examination was the public informed of the many extenuating circumstances which ever the condemnatory despatch of Mr. Montague can discover in his conduct. The despatch concedes that the danger to European ~~kixxx~~ line to the safety of European and Indian troops may have been greater than the Hunter Committee thought; that the General had naturally in discharging his duty to bear in mind the alarming conditions in the Punjab generally, and it declares in unexpetionable terms that it would prejudice the public safety, for the preservation of which a solder may become

responsible, to fetter his judgement of action either by the prescription of rigid rules before the event or by over concessions criticism when the crisis is past. We trust that now that General Dyer's conduct is to come under debate in th commons he will be given a further benefit of the above considerations than it has hitherto been his ~~bulk~~ luck to receive.

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39. 21--6--1920.

CONGRESS POLITICS.

Leader.

Anyone who expected to find in the Presidential address of the Madras Provincial ~~address~~ Conference now in session at Tinnevelly a ~~reason~~ for voting Nationalist at the approaching elections will, we fear, be disappointed. At the time and of the address Mr. S.Srinivasa Iyengar, C.I.E., touches very lightly on a few matters of domestic policy. But he speaks in quite general terms and does not translate his reflections upon the need for improvement in land assessment industry and labour conditions into terms of a definite programme. There is no fresh revelation upon the experiemental programmes of the Party which were recently produced. Except for the magic of the ~~name~~ manner of the Gentlemen at the head of the Congress Party we can see very little other attraction that Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar has to offer the elections to support ~~six~~ nationalist candidates of the polls. On the other hand, if the electorate is only swayed by a desire to support any agitation against everything that has been done is ~~having~~ being done and is to be done by the British Government for India. Mr. Iyengar's speech is just the sort to catch its fancy. His criticism of the Draft Rules penetrating to a degree. There is no corner into which he has peered and not disconded some blemish. But What does it all amount to this wholesale destructive criticism except to show that Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar, like so many of this kind, has rather the aptitutudes of a housebreaker than of an architect? As is usual with Nationalist critics of the Reforms Act, Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar impates the blame for the whisitling down of the congress demands to the secessionists from Congress the "~~band~~ band of promisant and able but diffident men" who " Enthusiastically supported the very weak compromise

proposed by the Mr. Montague". But having had his at the Moderates Mr. Iyengar, is at pains to prove that the so called extremist has his moderate side or shall we say his lapses into moderation? He says that "for Indians are extreme in its bad sense". We entirely agree. It is in the recognition of the fact that the main strength of the Moderate Party rests. Indeed, we have noticed that this truth has been rapidly dawning upon members of the Nationalist party. There has been a skedaddle from the position of first taken up towards the Reforms act. The shadow of a shade" assumed some substance even in the eyes of scoffers of the Satyamurthi type. This gentleman's name has lately been added to the list of candidates for the Madras Legislative Council. We suppose therefore, that the reason why he and others of this way of thinking have hastened to adjust what they sometimes call their angle of vision is that they have realised that there are so few of their fellow countrymen who are extreme in its bad sense, which means we assume blindly unreasonable to the expendiency of taking what they conget and making the best of it. That certainly, we believe, is the atitude of the majority of thinking Indians towards the Reforms. It is the politicians who fails to take this eminently sensible view who is likely to review in the shadow and the shade.

We are glad to have from Mr. Iyengar a plan declaration of Nationalist policy towards the Act Non-co-operation is virtually ruled out. "Congressmen he said, will form either a majority or a minority in the new legislation Council. If they are in the majority their influence will be felt and according to the

constitutional position the Ministers must be and their party. It will be a case of the Congressmen then working the Reforms of it. If congressmen form the opposition they will employ very usual and constitutional expedient to make their views felt and to turn out a Ministry that is opposed to the views of the congress. This summary of the opposition of congressmen in the council is unexceptionable, it is the A.B.C. of Party Government Mr.Srinivasa Iyengar claims that it disposes of the charge levelled against the congress party of wishing to wreck the Reforms for even assuming that a deadlock is created the Act proudes a way for overcoming it. This is perfectly true as far as it goes. But there are more ways than one of Killing a cat and there is a significance in Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar's postulates that the congress Party must refuse to have its fitness for self government tested by the way it works the Act and to bear any responsibility for its failure. A party which hails Mr. Tilak as its great captain and statesman" and the Gandhi as the greatest of our saints and insppirrers" whatever its attitude towards other Indian parties in the state may be and the Iyengar apparently holds that there is no use for any party except the one to which he belongs is likely to be above all else whether in however in opposition again the Government we have a shrewd suspicion that it was this consideration which weighed with the Joint Committee after listening to the combatant tones of Messrs Tilak and Jinnah and in move than anything responsible for those checks which Mr. Iyengar finds so irksome in the Reforms Scheme.

This inevitable that the Punjab affair should figure prominently on any political platform in India and Mr.Iyengar

denotes a considerable portion of his address to the usual partial statement of the case. There is one interesting admission tht that he makes, while attributing the out break to the Rowlatt report and the Rowlatt act he says that these instruments were rightly or wrongly considered by the poeple as part of a counter move to defeat their attempt to win the reforms as the case against have rule presented by a party that was hostile to it. Mr. Iyengar of couse does not say that there was any justification for this popular notion either in the Report or in the Acts. But if the people got hold of the wrong idea of their purport whose fault was, it but of those agitators who in season and out of season have made it their Business to misguide and excite the minds of the ignorant masses? But however that may be it was in Mr. Iyengar's view a insprudent action" on the part of the authorities to interfere with the persons who were playing with five in a magazine, because the action only served to accelerate the explosion. If that is the Nationalist conception of the duty of safeguarding the public peace we think it supplies the best possible reason why law and police have not been made transferred subjects. There is no trace of any immensity in Mr. Iyengar's address for those British officers and officals who have had to bear the dicision and restoring order out of the disorders created by the Satyagrahise group. He says that "India expects England to do her duty. which means that people in Engalnd are expected to shut their eyes and their land to all else but the congress version of events. We make bold to tell Mr.Srinivasa Iyengar that this perpetual clamour against. British officers and the persistent attempt to ignore or belittle the heivousness of the crimes committee by the mob and the seriousness of the outbreak

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are likely to defeat their purpose. There are many Englishmen who think that some things were done in the suppression of the disorders while should not have been done; that the martial low administrations might have actives their end with less senerioty. But these questions have been judged by a tribunal of Englsihmen as competent as they other to form a conculision on the moral legal and military aspects of the case and we are comfident that opinion in Engla nd will generately we contrust to accept the findings of thtt tribunal as doing substantial justice. Mr. Iyengar in urging that all classes of Englishmen in England must be made to realise the enormity of the Punjab traged has overlooked the percedent and the moral of the similar dead. Act made against Governor Eyre. The war weary Englishmen in measuring the enormity is not likelty to be impressed by the Minority Report refinment between rebellion and waging was underthe Penal Code.

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General Dyer's case. 8th July, 1920.

The Army Council's decision upon General Dyer's case simply echoes the decision of the C.in-C in India. The General is declared guilty of an error of judgment and it is recommended that he should not be given further employment out side India. As he has already been relieved of his command in India this means that the General has been condemned to retriment from the Army. Now, if the case had been one of first impression, and if the various authorities who have in vestigated the General's conduct had refrained from expressing any opinions up on the circumstances in which General Dyer was called upon to act, we think that the Army council's verdict might be accepted by everybody whose mind is not based as a just, if a severe one. The Army does not pass over errors of judgement committed by a officer exercising a superior command. General Dyer's acts in quelling the rebellion one governed by certain principles of law, and it is obvious that these privileges cannot be lightly overlooked. It may be useful to state briefly what these principles are. They were laid down by the Commission presided over by lord Brown, appointed to enquire into the firing by the military upon the rioters in the Action Colliery case in 1873. The commission stated the following propositions. "By the law of this country everyone is bound to aid in the suppression of riotous assemblages. The degree of force, however, which may lawfully be used in their suppression depends on the nature of each riot, for the force used must always be

moderated and proportioned to the circumstances of the case and to the end to be attained". "A soldier for the purpose of establishing while order is only a citizen assured in a particular manner". "When the need is clear, the soldier's duty is to fire with all reasonable caution so as to produce no further inpiry than what is absolutely wanted for the purpose of protecting person and property". The fact that innocent people might be killed in the mob does not affect the nature of the soldiers act, because, the soldier who fired has done nothing except what was his strict legal duty". These rules which were stated to cover the case of a riot are, we take it equally appricable to a rebellion, for the difference between the two is only a question of degree.

As we have already observed, if the different inquests, upon General Dyer's firing in the Jullianwalla Bagh had merely found that it had exceeded the necessities of the situation. We would understand the Justice of the Army Council's decision. But not only the Majosity Report but the Secretary of State and the Government of India have each and all admitted circumstances which made the General's error of judgement" an extremely qualified offences. Calling no doubt, for some disciplinary notice, but out of all proportion to the punishment meted out to the General. The majority report admits, that the situation as it presented itself to his mid mind during the time that had elapsed since his arrival at Amritstar was serious and difficult; that he was acting with a very small force", but

it condemned the General's desire to produce a moral effect in the Punjab as a mistaken conception of his duty". The Government of India, too while agreeing that the General exceeded the reasonable requirement of the case, put this remarkable fliding on the hill- we are convinced that General Dyer acted honestly in the belief that he was doing what was right, and, we think, in the result, his action at the time checked the spread of the disturbances to an extent which it is difficult now to estimate". And Mr.Montegu prefacing his condemnation of the General with a recital of the various actual and contingent danger which he was bound to take into consideration, allowed the possibility that the danger to the lines of Europeans was greater than appeared from the Hunter Report. The result of these various judgements is a parodox. General Dyer' is practically harted as the man who smashed a dangerous rebellion, but is to be retired from the army as a reward for his services. The House of commons has to pass judgement upon the Army Council's decision and we entertain some hope that M.P's may yet save the Government from an act which threatens to sacrifice a gallent officer toa windicative slamour.

General Dyer's Case. 12 - 7 - 1920.

Our correspondent Loyal India" in his letter, misses the point. The gest of our argument was Dyer has been condemned on evidence which did not being before the Hunter committee all the facts which were relevent to a proper judgment of his conduct. We quoted the instance of an ommission of this kind nationed by Sir M. O' Dwyer - which surely had an important bearing on the attitude of the crowed in the Jallkanwalag Bagh There is no question that General Dyer had a fair bearing before the committee. But it is quite another question whether the committee was impossession of sufficient facts to enable to put itself in the position of the General or the 13th April, which is the only position for arriving at a just conclusion upon his action. It is notorious that General Dyer's case was seriously prejudiced in Ebgland and in India by the fragmentary publication of his evidence. We think that our correspondent's perception of an arrogant vindictiveness" in the General's evidence betrays this prejudice, honest though it undoubtedly is for there can be no more fellacious test of a witness evidence than juding it in point. In such circumstances, it does not seem to us to be hair splitting" to claim that on a revision of its General Dyer's case the fullest consideration of all the facts bearing on the Amritsar incident is essential to a right judgement of his conduct. We appreciate as fully as our correspondent does the intensity of Indian feeling against General Dyer, and that this feeling is by no means generally

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actuated by disloyality towards the British connection. But does our correspondent realise how intensely unfair it is for a distinguished British Officer to be continually held up to exertion as a monster, when there is a doubt whether the enquiry which should have been made, has in fact been made, to vindicate the condemnation of his admittedly drastic action?

Hon'ble B.N.Sarma. 16 - 17 - 1920.

The secretary of State, on the recommednation of His Excellency the Viceroy, has sanctioned the appointment of the Hon'ble Rao Bahadur B.N.Sarma, who now represents the Madras Presidency in the Imperial Legislative council, to seat on the Viceroy's executive council in persuance of the Provisions of the Reforms act, Mr.Sarma's nomination to this responsible office will give General satisfaction to this Presidency, whered he has taken a prominent part in all public movements. He has a record of public service extending over thirty years in which he has been associated with every branch of local self government, in the Vezagapatam district in the early part of his ~~corner~~ career and, later, in the city of Madras as an elected Member of the Legislative Council. He stated his career as a High Court Vakil in the Vizagapatam district and in a few years rose to province at the Bar. When he was elected to the Madras Legislative Council, be transfered his practice to the High Court, where also he has had a uncrative practice. Four years ago he was elected a non-official representation in the Imperial Legislative Council, where, in conpan y with the Hon'ble Mr.V.S. Sastri he has done good work, He has taken a keen interest in all matters affecting the financial, industrial and educational branches of the administration, and has served on several special committees appointed by the Government of India. He has throughout been a moderate congress men

and has had the courage of his convictions, never failing to speak his mind when plain speaking was necessary. His public career has contributed to advance the interests of his community, and his nomination is a fitting recognition of his many sided activities for the public weal. The Madras Legislative council adopted today a resolution of thanks to be communicated to the secretary of State for the appointment.

Congress Plans and Policies.(Notes) 21 - 7 - 1920.

We wonder with what feelings of mytification the ordinary English reader rises from a study of Indian congress Plans and policies of non-co-operation. In the current issue of "India " the following pot - pourri is offered for the readers detectation. Mr.Tilaks organ the Maharatta, as, so the gentle reader is told, so far telling a rather non-committed line in respect of Mr.Gandhi's programme which is consistent with Mr.Tilak's interpretation of the Amritsar congress resolutions. But then there is the ~~receipt~~ midst of the Turkish Treaty ~~gixx~~ grievance with the objection to the India Act in the non-co-operation plan of campaign, and Mr.Tilak according to India" interprets the congress decission to mean that the Act should be worked in a spirit of responsive co-operation. So far so good, but Mr.B.C.Pal is than presented to the aforesaid gentle reader as convinc d that the congress underdict was that the India act should be wrecked by the absolute non-co-operation of Nationalist India. As though there was not confussion whose confounded already, had a Lajpatrion is next put forward with his scheme of a sort of active passive resistance to the Act is the proposal to surrounder votes to a Defence committee which will defeat any candidate who stand for-election. "India taken heart over the various forces, acting as a vis a tergo". Which are dirving on the non-co-operation movement. So too, we think, may the opponents of non-co-operation; that push from behind sometimes lands the ~~xxxxxxxx~~ victim on his nose.

The Two voices. 25 - 7 - 1920.

The Presidential addresses delivered by Mr.Madhavarao C.I.E. at the Bellary District conference on Saturday and by Sir P.Thyagaraya Chetty at Herbli yesterday, furnish a striking contrast in current political ideals and practice. Hope is the Key note of Sir P.Thyagaraya chetty's vigorous speech; forgetting those thing which are before, the non-Brahmin leader bids misfollowers to put aside idle vapourings and to go forward with courage and confidence to the goal of their ambitious. Dirtness and depression are the chief characteristics of the Nationalist oretious address. Mr.Madhavarao prefers to xxx Word on the past; to harp on those grievances without which no Nationalist seems to be quite happy, and without which, we minly believe, the majority of Nationalist politicians would be gravelled for a discourse. Mr.Madhaya Rao. xxx Specialises in censoriousness with the I.C.S., and he was riding his old hoply against or Bellary. But his declaration against the civilian is by this time as state and their as the patter in His Jarley xxxx waxwork show; and it must have been relief to him and to his avidence that he was able to add two new figures - the Imperial Parliament and the cabinet - to his chamber of Horros. Mr.Madhava Rao's exhibition was all chamber of Horrows, and he himself appeared to be a wax" when he was showing off anything British. But although he can hardly find one just men of thing in the British Administration of India, and foresees ths probability of some sort of non-co-operation. If India is to be saned from the tails of the Reforms Act. Mr.Madhava Rao explained

that there are limits to his non-co-operative zeal. He said that he wolild have had nothiing to do with "the wretched Act"but for the insistence of his friends to suffer himself to stand for the Legislative Assembly But being persuaded to cross this Rerlicon he pervinres the inconvessiance of carrying over in his baggage the resolutions of Pxxxxxxx Punjab and Khalifat committees. They might esurrard him in the middle of the stream. So like the carefll traveller he is, Mr.Madhava Rao is leaving all arrangements to the special congress - the cook's for many another gentleman who is not quite sure where the non-co-operation trip is going to take him. We will leave Mr.Madhava Rao for the present waiting on the wink, and return to a much bodder advanture.

Whatever the decision of the special congress may be on the form on the extent of the non-co-operation movement, its effectiveness has already been heavily discounted in adxance is far as this Presidengy is concenred, by Sri P.Theagaraya Chetty's refusal on behalf of the non-Brahmins, to give the thing the slightest countenance. In every sensible language the NOn-Brahmin leaders expresses sympathy with the Mahomedans in their fear for the Khilafat, but he resolutely declimes ot allow himself or his country to be sacrificed for the sake of the sentimental grievance of a portion of the community. If a parcel of Hindu and Muslim Extremists like to pull each other's chestnursts out of the fire, that is their look out, the non-Brahmins are not going to risk scorching their fingers or setting the place ablaze. The Satyagraha absurdity is similarly sqept aside by Sir P.Theagaraya chetty with a bhost of

of common sense. He sees, as everybody else can see who prefers realities to dreams, that Satyagraha spells for India what sinn Feinism means in Ireland. And no one knows better than Sir P.T.Chetty that the people who suffer most in these commotions are not the men who are dragged into them. Mr.Gandhi and his fellow Nationalists may be the most ~~available~~ amiable persons in the world their natives for supplanting the British bureaucracy with an Indian directorate may be union-impeachedly patriotic; but the Non-Brahmins are not going to assist any operations for dethroning the British King Log in order to put up King Stork for the National congress. The Congress, as Sir Chetty Depicts it, is now neither Indian nor National, but a purely Brahminical assembly which works for advancing the position of the Brahmin; and, from what we have seen of its recent manifestations in this Presidency, we are not prepared to say that the picture is overcoloured. However that may be, the marching orders to the non-Brahmins are to grasp the opportunity which the Reforms Act gives them. Let the Moderates work with the sole object of ensuring the success of the Reforms and let the Nationalists enter the lists with them with the avowed object of working them, but let us non-Brahmins who are neither Moderates nor Nationalists but Denacoats, enter these councils in large numbers with the simple aim of serving the people and bringing them as ~~such~~ much contentment and happiness as possible". These are the words of true statesmanship

We have been ~~being~~ very far from approving all that has been done in the promotion of the non-Brahmin movement, and we still regrett that it should be inspired by much an indiscriminating

sentiment of anti-Brahminism. But we readly admit that the non-Brahmins have attained a political power which reflects the greatest credit upon the energy of their leaders and the loyalty and enterprise of the community.........We have very little doubt that there will be no more active opponents when the time comes than the non-co-operating Gentlemen. But if non-Brahmins enter the bests with the same determination to conquer as animates their venerable chief, motory should be assured.

Non-co-operation. 31 - 7 - 1920.

(A letter to the Editor)

We understand and that Mr.Gandhi unflinching activities in the course of the Khilafat will take ~~xx~~ a defenite stone very soon, perhaps on the 1st of next month. I do not propose to discuss the wisdom or folly of the step that he proposes to ~~talk.~~ take Much has been said about it already, both for and against, and perhaps it may be too late now to make any further comments on it. Mr.Gandhi is, I believe, a man of will power, and will carry out his resolutions so longa as he is convinced that he is doing that which is right however great the forces working against him may be, but we expect him for the same reason to stop when he feels that he is in the wrong; and we ~~x~~hope that he will stop proceeding any further when he finds out that the first wtage of his propaganda was a failure, we are awaiting with ~~furnish~~ feverish anxiety the results of the first stage of the non-co-operation movement.

So give up tilles and honorary posts etc, is not an easy job. Some men had to work for it nearly a little time, and spend heaps of money for it, and it is almost the ~~cost~~ last thing that such men could be willing to part with.If, therefore within the next few days we bear of resignations powering forth by hundreds and more, we may know that the non-co-operation movement has got the sympathy of the majority;. If it is otherwise, and only a ~~foregive~~ few give up their littles and honours, will Mr.Gandhi realise that he has not got the support of the educated and responsible citizens of India, and that it is a mistake to proceed further.

mistake to proceed further, to inflame the minds of the uneducated mob, and create a chaos, perhaps, unparalleled before? If any man realises that what he is doing is wrong, and still persists in doing it, it is not force of will that is eschilite, it is .--shall I use that not over present word - obstinate - Will Mr.Gandhi pause and think before he takes the second step.

Coimbatore. T.S.S.

The late Mr.B.G.Tilak. 1 - 8 - 1920.

It is not easy for an English Critic, bearing in mind the excellent maximum "nil nisi ~~honesm~~ de ~~prortism~~ to write an obitisary notice of the late Mr.Tilak. His career is associated with deplorable incidents which leave bither memories behind them, and there can be few Englishmen in India who can pretend to have cause to regard him as other thaw an unelunting enemy. Nevertheless, it would be idle to deny the greatness and the magnetic personality of a man who, whenever he want, was hailed by Indians of all classes as their leader. Whether Mr.Tilak would have continued to maintain this predominance in the clearage of political Parties wrought by the Reforms is doubtful. There were signs that his political sagacity no longer passed everywhere as ~~arrest~~ coin, and the last session of the National Congress served to imphasise thus falling awa of allegiance. She innauguration of the Reforms, indeed, may be said to have discovered the weak joints in Mr.Tilaks' harress. More practical men stepped in and took Mr.Montegu's scheme for what it was worth, appreciating that it was the last there could get. Mr.Tilak's attitude was that of a man who had no policy. There was first of all the indecision whether he and his colleagues, would boycott the Joint Committee; then, the when it was realised that their absence from the witness chair would make no difference, there was the uncompromising evidence which has been fairly claimed to have done more than anything else to limit Mr.Montagu's booms. Even when the Bill had become xxxxx lone, there was an anbigenty about xxx

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become lone, there was an arbigenty about Mr.Tilak's utterances which left it an open question how far he was for making or massing the measure. The truth was that Mr.Tilak's genins lay rather in agitation than in practical politcs.

His political creed, asxx setted to an English journalist, explains his limitation:-- "It is not by our purpose, but by over methods only", he said, that our Part has earned the name of Extremist. Certainly, there is a very small party which takks about abolishing the British rule at once and completely. That does not concern us, it is much too far in the future.................. Our remote ideal is a confederacy of the Indian Provinces, xxxxxx possessing colonial self-government, with all Imperial questions set apart for the Central Government in England. Perhaps our Home Rule would take the form of Provincial convails of fifty or sixty members nominated vourched or indirectly elected at first, but elected by popular vote lato as education xx become more general. But that ideal also is far ahead of us -- perhaps generations ahead. But we aim are at doing now is to bring pressure on the bureaucracy to make it feel that all is not well. Mr.Tilak's ideal, or at least a considerable instalment of it, came sooner than he expected, and fourd him still only equipped for tilting at the bureaucracy. His political activities have rather obscured his considerable literacy achievements. He had at the time of his death just passed his 64th birthday.

The Treaty and Non-co-operation. 6 - 8 - 1920.

The acceptance of the Turkish Peace treaty is now an accomplished fact. Ipso facto' any further protest or agitation by Indian Khalifat demonstrations to get the treaty revised in favour of Turkey becomes futile and factions, not withstanding that Mr.Mohomad Ali clings with limpet-like teracity to the lost cause. He lately informed an avidience in Paris - that capaera which, as he lamented, is so comfortably in appropriate to missionery zeal - that "we at least will not accept the Treat". even if there should be any Turk in Paris or in constantinople, or even in the camp of Mastpla Kemal, so shandess as to sign. Well, there are Turks in constantinople, with a letter sense of the position than the bread of the Indian deputation possesses, who come within Mr.Mohomed Ali's silly condemnation. Among them is the Sultan himself, who was reported somedays ago to have ordered the acceptance of the terms as the only means of freeing his territories from the chaos into which Mastapha Kemal and his backers at a safe distance are prepared to pleasure them. At the same eeting Mr.Muhamad Ali declared that the signature of the Treaty would mean the abolication of the Turkish Khilafat. There is an assuring impertinence about the fulminations of this peripatelic King Makir which, we are sure, will arouse a corresponding feeling of disgust in the minds of thoughtful Indian Muslims. Who, forsooth, is Mr. Mahomad Ali that he should claim to decade the

destiny of the Khilafat? and does he in that imperial"we" include Mr.Gandhi among the arbiters of Islam?

The truth is, as many Indian Muslims have already discovered, that the movement which contained at bottom a big element of venuine and religious concern for the future of the Khilafat has been distorted into a political combine with the primary object of harassing the British Government. The old mischief has been decked out in a newdress. Instead of the Rowlatt Act and Satyagraha", the people who prepared these enterprises presented the Turkish Treaty and non-co-operation. There must be many Muslims who detest this veiling of a political agitation under the cloak of a religious issue, but who were ready, failing any better means, to countenance it so long as it appeared to be the only effective way to achieve their wounded feelings. We know as a fact that there are considerable Muslim Gentlemen have in Madras who, much as they would have liked to see some alteration in the Turkish terms, were not prepared to press their views to the extent of launching themselves into the abyss of Mr.Gandhis non-co-operation programme. None that the Turkish Government have finally accepted the Treaty, all further reason for supporting Mr.Gandhi's scheme fells to the ground. Those Muslims, therefore, who are convinced that questions affecting Muslims are hast settled without the entangle-ments spread by Hindu politicians are once more free to persume their unfettered way, and we do not doubt that this freedom

will not be appreciated. As for Mustaphor Kemal, be, too, has proved a broken reed. Any hope reposed in his ability to secure the amendment of the Treaty has been shattered. The bubble reputation of this Nationalist champion has been pricked. "The whole organisation", writes the correspondent of the " "Morning Post' in constantinope," has been proved, as was suspected, to rest on terrorism and exaggeration throughout the greek advance in Anatolia the Keralist local leaders have shown, the greatest cavardice, and their sole desire has been to get away with as much spoil as possible. The population has frequently turned on them and either lynched them or hended them over to our forces". Happy, indend, must be a movement which is inspired by such khoes.

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The last ditch. 10 - 8 - 1920.

(Dyer fund: Women)

When Government informed their servants that subscription to the Dyer Fund was Prohibited by the Government servants conduct Rules they raised incidentely another issue which will have sooner on later to be faced and dealtwith. It is inevitable that woman should take a keen interest in this particular matter. things which occures, and others which were mercifully prevented from accurring in the Punjab last year may well make them feel, not merely that they are apatitude to those who checked the rebellion, but that it is incumbent upon them to proclaim that gratitude. One widespread appeal has gone out over a woman's name; other woemn have organised contents as a method of money collecting. These ladies, may be free agents or the wives of free agents; but what of the official wives? They most of all must want to express thin gratitude, and most specially because, so long as their husbands remain in Government service, their own lives are bound upbill India. But are they free to subscribe to the Fund on their own behalf if they wish? We think not. The wife of an Anglo Indian official is bound by the rules which bind her husband. He is responsible for the actions of his wife, and the wofe who idsregards the fact is liable to provoke unpleasant consequences for her husband, "Noblesm oblige, and ladies, in pity for the helpless indivinchral whose fate was thus at their mercy, have hitherto accepted with more or less grace the limitations which the fact imposed upon them. But they were the women of a bygone era.

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The new race, the wives who grew to womanhood amid the undroperoured freedom of war, and the rutheless self assertion which has followed it. Will they consent to any curb upon their rightsxx as individuals to say or do what they please? We fancy not, the admission of women to the franchise, and to one after another of the arena of Public life, have already made the position absurd. The individualism of the modern generation can hardly fail to make it impossible, and it is time that those who make Civil service Reputations shall recognise altered conditions and accept them. It was doubtefuly just in the past that a woman should be considered by her marriage with an official to have surrendered her rights to liberty of speech and action according to her conscience, it is plainly unjust that a man should nowadays be held responsible for the deeds of a person who admits no authority. We have travelled a long way from the days when Perpys could" resolve" to just his wife into mourning for his mother,"with the two maids, the two undermaids. W. Hewer and Tom", or David could order his dora to bed and meet with non-remonstrance but tears. Nor, indeed does the post war husband wish to assert such authority over his wife, he, too, has grown repair the new world, and has entered into matrimony upon the new terms. Has not the time come when those who lay down rules for the guidance do Government servants should recognise the new condition and alter their codes to meet them?

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Mr.Gandhi Explains: 13 - 8 - 1920.

The Interview which Mr.Gandhi was good enough to give our representative is at least distinguished by its Candour. Mr.Gandhi makes no concealment of his plans or of the difficulties in the way of their frution. The crux is the attitude of the classes as distinct from the masses. Mr.Gandhi quite frankly admits that his hope is rather in the latter than in the form. In plain language, he relies or ignorance rather than on intelligence, and there in lies. The weakness and the danger and his design Peroorally, we are on the side of the angels (which in this matter is not Mr.Gandhi's side), of those who, whatever their shade of politics, see in the non-co-operation movement a shont cut to a repetition of the disastus in the Punjab. Mr.Gandhi allows that the violence which accompanied the practice of Satyagraha was due popular ignorance of the intention of the movement. What guarantee has he that the crowd will be more enable to his control in this new adventure? The two props on which it stands, the Punjab tragedy and the Khalifat agitation, are far more influencable material than the Rawlatt Act could possibly be. Moreover, in spite of Mr.Gamdhi detection of a batter spirit of ~~desciptive~~ descipline, does the suppose that there will be wanting mischievous men to use any occasion of popular commotion to deflect the multitude into courses of violence which are no part of Mr.Gandhi's programme. The same coment applies to the subte distinction made by Mr.Gandhi between an insult to H.R.H the Prince of Wales and an affort to the Government. It is logic put through the

mindcing - machine, and the product is so fine as to be hardly discermible to ordinary intellects. The proposed boycott of the Royal visit, whatever Mr. Gandhi's notice, does involve a gratuitous dis courtesy to the Heir Apparent, and the difference between discourtesy and disloyalty in such circumstances must, to most minds appear as this spun as, Mr.Gandhi's other refinement. So much forth dangers of the scheme. Its weakness is obvious. Why should the masses adopt movement from which their more well to do neighbours obstain? It is all very well for people who stand to lose nothing from non-co-operation to talk heriocally of the hearty and the duty of the Sacrifice. But what of the policemen who are expected to give up their means of livelihood? Are there humber myrasiders of the law to exist on a precerious charity, while gentlemen of the long robe continue to co-operate in their lucative profession? The response of the lawyers to his invitation to cease practice has, according to Mr.Gandhi, so far bear boor. We shall be very astonished if it does not so continue, or if his advice to obstain from the councils does not fall on equally deafears. Expediency, as oh Gandhi told our interviewer, has no place in his plan of campaign, and we can well achieve it. But he forgets that expediency is the badge of all the political tibe. If Mr.Gandhi has been studying the business done at some redent political meetings, in this Presidency he will find plenty of evidence how very inexpedient has been the arrival of his non-co-operation proposals.

Fine by Degrees. 18 - 8 - 1920.

At the Tinnevelly Conference Mr.V.P.Madhava Rao was reported as saying that the question of non-co-operation bondered on what might be called spiritualism. with all respect to the opinion of an exp Dewan, we think that it would have been more accurate to say that the question hondered on what might be called mysticism. Mystery and mystification continue to cloud, if not the things itself, its duscussion; and the none the matter is debated, the deaper and none confusing to the debaters get. Mr,Gandhi's visit to Madras has naturally disturbed the academic calm in which the question, whether non-co-operation was to be, or not to be", reposed pending the gathering of the Special congress. Mr.Gandhi being a gentlemen who believes in going straight across country without any beating about the bush or craving at the jumbs, has given his admires(and, in sooth) an adviser is not the same thing, as a follower) a lead which it is only too plain, many of them have no taste for following. Again are the leaders very backward in going forward along the plank that leads to non co-operation. It is Tinnevelly over again on that occasion it was demonstrated that among the Nationalist higher command, the directions on the platform, who had counsel to give upon the non co-operation resolution, there, ...

> Was none who would be foremost
> To lead such dire attack;
> But those behind creed "Forward"!
> And those before creed "Back!"

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And it came to pass that the plight of the congress gentleman, ~~xxxx~~ hustled and hustling on that weaking platform, was not unlike the predicament which faced. Lars Posseno's host. At Rome, the hustlers were banlked of victory; at Tinnevelly, they won the day. The vital resolution was carried. But to return to our illustration the leaders, that is to say, the gentlemen in front who were advising their friends behind to postpone their rushing although they were pitched overbroad along with the ~~sxxx~~vshined limbers; were not over ~~xxx~~ whelmed in the gengid flood. For from itl they clutched at the planks of a special congress and floated a shore safe, sound, but not exactly smiling. Indeed, the cooling effect of that metaphorical ducking is traceable in the cold water poured by Mr.Kasturi~~gaya~~ranga Iyenger at the recent meeting of the congress committee in Madras on non-co-operation. The very ~~granded~~ guarded views expressed by this distinquished consol of Hindu Nationalism upon the practicability of Mr.Gandhi's plans, drive us back again to Macanleny's way upon that incident of the tottering bridge:--

"But the consul's brow was sad,
And the consul's speech was low,
And ~~durably~~ darkly looked be at the wall
And darkly of the foe".

Mr.Kasturi~~naya~~ranga Iyengar looks darkly enough at the foe, The European merchant in particular, but he does not like any better the look of the wall over which Mr.Gandhi skins so lightly. We sympathise with his dislike to take part in such obstacle racing, even though his objection is not so much on account of

his own views as those of his friends. Thus he declares to accept Mr.Gandhi's theory that non-co-operation, he declares, can be achieved by sending congress representatives into the Legislative councils so, while some Nationalist pandits have been exeficising their minds upon the doub whether Mr.Gandhi's doctrine invilved its practit oners in Sanyasiism - a stable of perfection above the immediate reach of many lawyers and other mortals:--Mr.Kasturiranga Iyengar comes forward with quite an easy penace. Of course, the simplest, and probably the most effecient, means of impressing upon the government that they are in bad adour with the people is to put an opposition party into the majority of the council. It is constitutional and national. There is also the additional advantage that there are no losses to be borne, no sacrifices to be made by the people who choose to tread the brudge constructed by Mr.Kasturiranga Iyengar. To the political lawyer, the salt of the congress, it is to be roses, roses all the way". The council chamber is thrown open to him and in the opinion of his journalistic govern it is not a desirable thing for the members of the legal profession to refuse to take briefs, The lawyers, it is explained, are not solely employed in assisting Government. They are also benefactors of their fellow men in co-operating in the administration of justice.

The pleasant scheme (borrowed we suspect from the Sinn Fein repertory) chalked out by Mr.Gandhi of the lawyers forsaking their practice and setting up as popular arbitrators is napped off the state by Mr.Kasturiranga Iyengar. He gies us, instead, his own version of the principle" Feat justitia, ruat coelum".

The drawback of it is that the Justice and the ruin seen so one sided. Mr.Kasturiranga Iyengar eschewes non-co-operation in the shape that is likely to hunt his political friends, and chooses it in the form of a boycott of British goods which cannot help hunting the pockets of others of the Indian community. These are the Indian merchants who depend for their livelihood on foreign trade. Surely they are entitled to say that if any sacrifice is to be made it should be shared all round. And the people too. It is elementary knowledge that the price and supply of certain necessaries in India would be seriously affected by stopping imports from Great Britain. It may be handable ambition to make India self-sufficing. But its achievement must necessarily take a long time; and mean while it would be small compensation to the Indian customer that though his commodities cost him none, he was still assured of the services of a vekil in his litigation.

Words and their meaning. 21 - 8 - 1920.

That which is not unconstitutiional is constitutional and Mr.Gandhi's clarrification of things which he regards as "not unconstitutional " is so extensive that we have discover to the dictionry to refresh our memories as to the maning of constitutiona" It means, we found," in sympathy with, authorised by, the political constitution And yet Mr.Gandhi is reported to have said that "if peasants were advised not to paytasces to a Government which utilised the monies for putting down the Indian people instead of raising them, this was also nothing unconstitutiona". He in common again with the class with which perhaps now completely identified himself, uses words without refenence to their meaning." Unconstitutional in his mouth becomes morely a cart phase officilable to everything done by Government and nothing done or proposed by himself loyalty and disloyalty in his mouth are tems even more paradoxically confussing.... Gandhi who protests that to insult the prince of wales and though him his father the King - for to slight is to in sult, if words been any meaning at all - that this is compatible with peffect loyalty. And yet subjects, so long as kings have been have, shown loyalty to aking by the heartiness of their greeting whom be applears - have else can the plain man manifest his loyalty?

Nor are we alone in the confusion of mind wrought in us by these reiterations. Sir Narayan Chandra-varkar has pointed out that when Mr.Gandhi says passive ressistence he seems to mean'active revolt and rebellion against Government. Aye, and there is the rub. We fancy that Mr.Gandhi's victim, the miserable contributers ple bs, gather, in their helpless, headlong

way, much the same impression that Sir Narayana Chandra-nanken does, expect that they give Gandhi credit for" mixing up the issue of non-co-operation and active revoot", not "unconsciously" as Sir Narayan charitally suggests, but quite consciously. They read what is palpably written between the lines and take for granted that this is what they were meant to do. Thus arose the tragedy of last yeat, thus may arise the fresh tragedy of this year or the next unless Mr.Gandhi' s misuse of words is checked. For neither do use credit Mr.Gandhi any longer with mere muddle-headedness or genuine folly. We attribute to him rather, whether or no he has read the first part of "F aust", the agrical theory of words expounded there. "You may nearly always raly on words", says Mephistopheles. To which the student:- "But surely there must be some meaning behind the words? "True," replies Mephistoples, "but you must not enquire too closely what it is". We make no apology for the quotation - it seems to us at least as apt as, and certainly no more offensive than the compassion which has been freely made of Mr.Gandhi's utterances with the words:-- "Give unto caesar the things that are coesan's".

Wait and See.   4 - 9 - 1920.

The Presidential address of Lala Lajpat Rai to the Extra ordinary session of the National Congress an extraordinary production. It runs to 56 printed pages.. ....We are dirman to exclaim:--"O, monstrous'. But one half passing worth of bread to this intolerable deal of sack"! Was it for this that Lala Lajpat Rai pursued his Alescandrive tnimph through the streets of Calcutta? Apparently it was; and it was quite in the Ales cander mood that the hero at the Subsequent feast of ratory - "Fought all his battles O'er again;

And think be sorted all his foes and thrice
be sleve the slaim".

We should be sorry to say how many times already the Martial Law administrators have been put up and knacked down to the complete satisfaction of congress orators and aurdiences. The posmlarity of the performance is as evergreen as that of a Punch and July slow. But on an accurior like the present we should have expected, not that the favourite"williams" of the price should not be presented (there is no place into the wicked!) but that the recital of their misdeeds should furnish a premiss' to some sort of an argument in favour of the preposition which the congress had met to discuss.

Mrx. Lajpat Rai, however, was different of giving even a hint of what he thought of the merits of Mr. Gandhi's programme. He traced the history of its progress to the Special congress, and, as the President showed, the course has not been smooth. The All India congress committee had passed on the Gandhi scheme

to the special congress because it had felt ~~incompetent~~ incompetent to recomend a programme which in one ~~in~~ important detail was directly apposed to the Amritsar Congress resolutions. Besides, Some Provincial Congress have adopted the programme in principle but deferred approving its practice pending the devision of the Special congress, while others have approved Mr.Gandhi's course of action without any such reservation. One deep calls to another, and by no means always in harmony. "On both sides," said Mr.Lajpat Rai, "are renged respected leaders. Much feeling has been imported into the discussion. Under the circumstances, I have decided that, as President of this assembly, the proper course for me at this stage is to refrain from expressing my opinion on this subject". It is a lame conclusion, but, we think, a prudent one. Mr.Rai confessed that Presidents had been in the habit of discussing all important questions of the day in their presidential addressed, But them until very recently the country was practically unanimous on all questions which the con gress was expected to deal with". In other wards, preaching to the conperted is an easy, confortable task, but if the preacher is not sure of his congregation, discretion rather than valour should govern his discourse; for,says Mr.Lajpat Rai, if the President's views "do not happen to coincide with those of the majority, both he and the congress would find the situation rather awkward". In fact, the upshot might be to provide a striking example of Non-co-operation between the chari and the auditorium and that would never do at a meeting called for the express purpose of deciding for on against a policy whice, it it is to succeed, demands a thoroughly loyal system of co-operation

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We should not blame the President for taking up a position of judicial inpartiality if his charge to the jury had been strictly impartial, or if he had given any clear directions upon the expediency, the advantages or the risks of non-co-operation. But in these respects his address is lamentably wanting. He works up a tremendous amount of prejudice against the Government, he recepitulates all the threedbare reasons why non-co-operation is justifiable in the conditions in which Indians find themselves. But when the climax of all this rhetoric should be reached, he shuts up like a knofe. "Before we consider Non-co-operation" he says at the crucid moment", let us start with co-operation" and then follows a very brief analysis of co-operation"--

and then follows a very brief analysis of co-operation,
(a) its obligatory on voluntary nature (b) its economic consequences (C) its inherent morality and (d) its ability as a weapon of attack on defence. Having delivered himself of this disqusitions he, in effect, tells the jury that if it prefers co-operation it will give a perdict for co-operation, and if it don't why than it want. And we suspect was a more congarrial task, the misdoings of the O'Dwyers, the Dyer, etc. Anyting, in fact, except the real issue before the congress.

The Non-co-operation Verdict. 9 - 9 - 1920.

Those who have been following with some anxiety and who has not? - the deliberations of the special congress in Calcutta on the issue of non-co-operation, will interpret the result with mixed feelings. There is something heroic, pitiable and contemptible the debrates upon accepting or repudiating the policy advocated by Mr.Gandhi. For ounselves, and for all who hold the view thatin moderation and hearty co-operation with the Government in working out the Reform scheme lies the future political salvation of the country, all we can say is that we regard the situatinn with profound regret, tempered with the consolation that the perdict for Mr.Gandhi, though carried by a large majority cannot bind even the congress still less people outside it, and that on the side of the non-contents there is a strong following of some of the most intelligent and capable leaders of Indian political thought who bold that the best, if not the only way to secure the objects all have at least is the fullest co-operation with the Government. In reality the division is not so much on the issues of non-co-operation or co-operation, as between non co-operators and non-co-operations. The contest is now between the new Extremist party with Mr.Gandhi at its head, who would ban utterly any participation in the so called gifts of Great Britain to India, be they what they many, and the Quordan Extremist party, who would compoend for such co-operation as suits thin purpose in order ventually to obtain control of the administrative machine by apposing a policy of non-co-operation to all that does not directly further their aims and objects.

Both parties are equally hostile to the existing Government and the Moderates. There is little to choose therefore, between the whole boggers" and those whom our correspondent terms the progressive Co-operators" Party. It is only a question of time. If we are to know exactly where xxx we stand perhaps it is preferable that the "whole boggers" carried the day. Their policy, at least, is a clean out the decision to have nothing whatever to do with the administration of the country and the benefits which that administration confers. The other scheme would only usfer in a further period of indecision and waiting while its followers try to carry out their policy of gaining control of the Government and imposing their will upon the people. We have had too much of in decision and waiting while the various parties are endeavouring by propagandist work, of none or less varying ingour and intensity, to rally their forces to test their claims before the special congress tribunal. From this point of view it is just as well that further fabrian tactics for postponing the final decision for another few months failed altogether. We now know pretty well where we are and what we have to expect.

While we desire to acknowledge the high level on which the debate was carried, we can not help feeling that it would have been even higher if the Extremists. new and old, had been able to refrain from acrimomous altacks upon the government and the moderates, and had given the later a less hostole hearing. That, perhaps

was hardly to be expected. Onething, however, has come of this meeting. It has cleared the air and has put in their proper places the hither to confused mass of politiciansxxxpxx and publicists haggling in the market place for votes and for followers. We have long been accustomed to speeches and pronouncements which were obviously based on unveltered reservations. There are two much of the "I would am I dare" savour about them, None of that was possible of the meeting which has come to this momentous decision. The speakers had to lay their political souls bare before their person, and now the question is whether this want of unanimity of at the special congress the specially recognised feature of the congress till the Extremist split accured some years ago at swat- will not result in another tremendous split in the political parties in India. Now we have for certain the Gandhi party of absolute non-co-operation and the quondam Extremist Party, who are apparently not prepared to go as far as the Gandhi Party because for political, and possibly personal, reasons they declire to deny themselves the loans and fishes of official preferment and the opportunities they have fought for the past forty years. There are also moderates who are claiming all those who have found the progressives' pace to fast. Finally we have the split between the Muslim League and the Khilafat conference. It will be strange, we think, if with the situation now confronting them, there will not be a reshuffling of all the parties with an access or decrease in the strength of their following. Unless, therefore, Mr.Gandhi, as a result of this reshuffling, can get a sufficient following to enforece a boycott of the councils, the first and most important part in his scheme of non-co-operation is bound to fail. The situation

with the council elections looming ~~ixxx~~ immediately before us, is one of great complexity, and it will be interesting to see how the electorate will respond to the time definitely laid down by the various leaders of political thought and action at this special congress meeting in Calcutta.

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Non-Co-Operation. 10-9-1920.

Now that non-co-operation has been launched with the plandits of an almost over-whelming majority of the special congress delegates in Calcutta, it is interesting to take a glance at the varrying opinions expressed about it. Having done this, it is permissable to warden how far even those who have blessed it with their notes are prepared, to go in carrying out the scheme of its founder and originator. First, let us take Lala Lajpat Rai, who presided over the deliberations of the congress. In commenting upon his opening speech we referred to the adroitness with which, in a cloud of words, be evaded the real issue. In his closing speech he stated to say something that he omitted to state at the begining of the congress, namely his views on the conditions in which he thought non-co-operation was possible and those in which it was not. He was, for instance, whole heartedly opposed to the withdrawal of boys from schools, and while he had a very poor opinion of lawyers generally, he did not think it was practicable for them to with draw altogether from practice. He was much in favour of National courts of Arbitration, but it was impossible, while there were British courts of Justice in the land, to avoid them altogether. As a matter of fact, all the non.co-operation be believed in was that which struck at the root of what he was pleased to term the economic exploitation of the country. In a word, the wormout battle cry of Swadeshism," instead of the clavior call of non-co-operation absolute". Now, we know some or less the extent to which this stalwart patriot is prepared to go in carrying out the hetrests of the meeting over which

go in carrying out the betrests of the meeting over which he presided. That is why we say that it would be interesting to find out exactly what each and every one of those who have noted gor the carrying out of Mr. Gandhi's scheme is personally prepared to do towards furthering it. As we write these wards we have the suggestions of Mr. Paranjpye put before us, rarely, that before passing the resolution the special congress should prepare a questionaire asking each delegate to state in writing what personal act of non-co-operation he would solemenly undertake to carryout. These answers should be examined by experts, tabulated and published. Such a step, Mr.Paranjpye thinks, would be a measure of strength taps behind the movement. In our opinion, it would be the best test of the weakness of the movement, for it would disclose, what Mr.Paranjupe suspects, that many have voted in the extremist of the moment expecting what everybody except themselves to carryout the programme. What Mr.Gandhi himself demands for the success of his scheme is non co-operation, utter and absolute. The moment that none begin to to pick and chose where they will co-operate and where they will not, the scheme falls to the ground , and becomes impracticable and unworkable.

Let us take another instance - a local one this time. Khan Bahadur A Kendus Badsha Sahib, the President of the Madras Presidency Khilafat committee has issued a memorandum in which he states his ideas of the extent to which he and his commersity should take part in the non-co-operation moment. The amusing part of the document is the portion in which by an elobarate process of special pleading, he exempts himself from all obligation

to give up the honours and privileges bestowed upon him. Like the little boy who has to have a tooth extracted, he objects for the primeture but all sufficient reason that it will trust. If we ever get the evidence which Mr.Parajpye asked for, we are confident that special pleaders in their own interests will be so numerous that the scheme is doomed to failure give us, every time, the sturdy independence and sound commonsense of the non-Brahmin leader, the Hostile Sir P.Theagaraya chetty, an interview with whom appears in another column. There has been in his time no more uncompromising critic of the Government when he thought they required to be bludgconed for sins of omission and commission. He was equally whole hearted in his commendation and co-operation when they did well; and he firmly believes that a continuation of this policy ~~order put up~~ as the plans all is the path by which the goal of self government will be reached. He is just as keen as Mr.Gandhi, Lala Lajpat Rao or any of the others who have been orating, and he is firmly convinced that his method in the end will be no slower than that of those who by ~~have~~ hare brained schemes of paralysing the Government seek to get control into their ~~won~~ own hands.

The New Non-co-operation.   14 - 9 - 1920.

"The elimination of centrifugal tendencies from the congress is a consideration that ought always to be borne in mind by every true congressmen "Thus the "Hindu" by way of consolation for the difficult position created by the passage of Mr.Gandhi's resolution. We trust that every true congressman will read, mark, learn and be able to digest this profound utterance. It is much too deep for us, who, like the admirers of Bunthrone, can only neumour - "why what a very singular deep young man that deep young man (the"Hindu") must be"! But the dictionary gives us some aid. We find under the word centrifugal" an explanation from Haves' "Guesses of Truth "(a very appropriate anthority) to this effect - "In all speculation, of what so ever kind, there is a certifugal tendency which requires to be continually counteracted and kept in check". Now, indulging with Here in a guess at the import of the "Hindu's proposition - or, shall we say, extracting the truth from the "Hindu", wall of English undefeted by means of a sort of metaphisical centrifugal pump - we conclude that our contemporary intends that the true congressman should have full obsolution from his allegiance to the congress' ruling. In plain languge, the significance of our contemporary's utterance appears to be that if a congressman does not approve any particular resolution of the congress passed by a particular majority on a particular occasion, he is free to disregard it "place" the Amritsar resolutions. This is the elimination of the certifugal tendencies, and t is, it seems, is now the "Hindu" is prepared to act. The uplift, of course, must be a fatal nonco-operation

among the members of the congress. The "Bombay Chronicle" puts the contingency more plently than the "Hindu". In a leading article upon "The present in our Hards", the Bombay journal declares:--Let the nation now rise to the opportunity and carry at the programme sanctioned and authorised by the National Assembly. Let there be no division in the ranks of congressmen and let all unite, non-co-operation) as they are what ever be their differences and the success of the movement is assured. The congress has come to the Great decision. It is for the country by its action to show that it is a united Nation's decision. The courage of the decision is not in the passing of the resolution, it will be proved when we carry it out. Shall the first hearted (Sic) among us prevail? Or shall we make the great Experiment a National triumph that shall be the country's emancipated shall we continue to deceive ourselves by alluring hopes of the down at a near future when by progressive realisation of responsible government at the pleasure of our rulers', we shall become a ~~racial~~ equal partner in the British common-wealth. No, let us hold fast to the present. The future will take care of itself......."

Those dots are the ~~kost~~ most eloquent part of the whole passage. They point, as ~~Lords~~ no words could have done, to the utter void into which Mr.Gandhi's programme may ~~xxxxx~~ lead. For our part, we congratulate the Madras organ of Nationalism on ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ decliving to precipitate itself down the steep which it the other day likened to the Gadarane ~~stopes~~ slopes.

it the other day likened to the Gadarene slopes. The "Chromicle" prefers that to lock before it leaps or slides. It is not concerned with the future. "Apress nons la deluge" is its charmful policy. We have quoted it at some length, or there could not b better demonstration of the recklessness which prompted the special congress' decision. A correspondent, whose impressions of his visit to Calcutta we publish lotery, draws attention to the insignificant note which carried Mr.Gandhi's resolution. Of the multitude who went to Calcutta to her Mr.Gandhi less than 50 percent a remained to vote, and of these 1,800 odd only noted in favour of his programme and 800 odd against it. To claim this miserable result as "a united nation's decision" containly shows that the chronicle" is not among the faint - x hanted. It must be remembered that this congress was specially summoned to give a lead to the country on this most vital question of Nationalist policy. That so large a proportion of the delegates should have abstained from expressing their approval and disapproval of it is the best possible proof at the opathy, if not active dislike, the country for wild cat schemes. The congress split which began at Smart has been apprecably widened in Calcutta and threatens the ~~ixxxy~~ very life of the ~~xx~~ institution. Mrs Besant, we notice, thinks that it is already dead - her verdict apparently being, suicide while temporarily in same. We, however, do not take quite such a gloomy view of the congress' fate". In our opinion, congress under the hands of of the Calutta operators merely underwent minisection.

[illegible].

"National Courts" 23 - 9 - 1920.

It is worth while following out Mr.Satcowripati Roy's proposals to their better and, and this gentleman evidently foresees some bitterness, although be gently avids the logical and of his scheme. It is not in human mature to be content with the judgement of even the ablost lawyers", if there is any possible ground of avoiding it," difficulty may arise after the execution" (we suggest that it may not avait that event) says the draftsman, "namely, the people may not obey the judgement. But first of all, if the decision is correct, and there is every chance of its being correct, for the judge will be one of the eminent pleaders of the locality, the people will they, for the natural tendency of the people is to accept what is correct. But there may be bad men. In their case the social forces of the locality or the village Association (for which I will submit a separate scheme) will help the National court". Here, then, is a prospect of a piece of non-co-operation between the disgremtted litigant and the village association, the one refusing to have his property sold on the strength of a begins decree, the others fulfilling the task of the Sheffiff's officer. We cannot say that Mr.Satcow-ripati Roy is much happier when dealing with issue. Compoundable cases are handed over by him to the National courts, and he proposes in these cases that the accused must accept the punishment given (in the begining only peculiary) If he fails, the village Association and Society will help". There is in this proposition a faint indication of a possible National look up attached to the National court, and also the stillbroader outlines of some very interesting actions for false imprisonment

against the National Judge and his village myrmidars. But the framer of the code has obviously not had much time to devote to this part of his scheme. Hearlism on the non-compoundable crimes:--"Offences against property may be amicablly settled. But offences against the person cannot but go to the Government counts. In these cases the lawyers will appear and depend the accused". Frankly, we regard this last concession as weak and disappointing we expect to find that if theft was capable of an amicable settlement, capable bomicide might be arranged on the same pleasant lives, or at least on the prix fixe" system.

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National Courts, National Judges.

25-9-1920.

It is superfluous to command to our reader's alteration to the comments which Sir Narayan Chandranakar has been good enough to send us upon the proposals for boycotting the King European's courts. Compromise is the one and only thing in this scheme in which its promoters can pin any hope of success. The acknowledgement of the unpatunted Judge and the accountance of such law as he might choose to administer would be a compromise. The learnal judge, too, would be in volved in a compromise, self compromise, every time be passed an order for, as Sir Narayan very perti-nently remarks, how are the National Judges going to protect themselves from suits on account of alleged partiality? But, apart from this aspect of the National courts, there is the larger problem, will the Indian public as Mr.Gandhi seems to think they will, accept a system of compromise and arbitration in the place of regular litigation? Sir Narayan gives a decided negative in answer to this question; and his wide knowledge and experience of the working of arbitration and of the attempts made in the past to set up conciliation courts similar to the proposed National courts, ought to be decisive.

Indeed, the pleader who intends to denote himself entirely to practising in the National courts will, we fear, have more leisure

Emperor's

National courts will, we fear, have more leisure than he requires for the bilthiards and terrorism which, according to Mr.Gandhi, already take up too much of the lawyer's spare time.

Perilous Policy of Non-co-operation.

30 - 9 - 1920.

Mr.G.A.Natasan has sent us an advance corey of an article contributed by him to the "India Review", upon the perilous policy of Non-co-operation As might be expected of so discerving a politican, Mr.Natesan is convinced Mr.Gandhi's plan will defeat the very object which it has in view. It will postpone, instead of accelerating, the advent of full responsible government, and though Mr.Gandhi has conceived it in a spirit of non-violance, it is likely to lead to violence. This view is shared by other Indian public men. Mr.Gandhi may be the sowl of innocence; but in a matter like this be must be judged by his friends, it is notorious that he has leagued himself with persons, particularly some Mahamedan allies, who have not hasitated to threaten force if peaceful persuation fails. Mr.Natesan warms the bureaucracy against thinking that Non-co-operation will perish of inamity. No doubt the movement has come to stay in some form or others there are already two forms in existence, the Gandhi pattern and the demice of Parliamentary obstruction which, we gather, finds favour with Nationalists who are not prepared to go the lengths laid down lay the special congress. There is, of course, always the possibility of these two forces conlescing in the face of some bureaucratic"faux has" or what is regarded as such. But already the most formidable enemy to the Non-co-operation movement is, as the Maharajah of Bobbili pointed out in his letter to us yesterday,

of Bobbili pointed out in his letter to us yesterday, to be found within the ranks of Indians. What single Party under the Reform schemes is going to be strong enough to bring the whole machinery of government to a standstill?.

Ring out the Old, Ring in the New.

5-10-1920.

The Madras Legislative Council which ~~xxxx~~ had been working under the Reforms Act of 1909, was dissolved. Yesterday after a career of nearly eleven years. In this period the country has witnessed momentous changes leading to a new order, the goal of which is full responsible government. ~~Vavid~~ Varied as the action two of the council have been, during the last fourteen months in which His Excellency Lord Willingdon presided over its deliberations, it has transacted legislative work of the greatest importance to the development of self government. The fruits of these labours will be granted in the participation of the new electorates in the new responsibilities conferred upon them. Non-official legislators have been given the fullest scope for their evergives, and Lord Willingdon paid, a well meeted tribute to their capacity and their assistance in making the legislative machine run smothly. His Excellency realised the wisdom of convening meetings of the council as after as possible, and not a month passed during the cold weather without a session. The last fourteen months gain have been a strenuous period for the Government, as besides council meetings ther were many committees and conferences at which official and non-officials were brought together. Much is also due to the statesmanship of His Excellency. As was freely acknowledged out yesterday's session, he has succeeded in establishing better understanding between the Government non-official representatives. A great deal has also been done in

the way of Preliminary investigations of matters relating to the economic and industrial development of the Presidency. Lord Willingdon said that the government had in hand, an advanced state of preparation schemes connected with harbour development, development of housing and forests and industries, which will provide abundant ,x material for the members of the new council to work upon. To ~~canjont~~ carry on these and other schemes it is proposed to raise a provincial loan to provide the large initial captial expenditure. ~~Altogether, the prspects before intitial capital expenditure.~~ Altogether, the prospects before the country under the new order, which willbe inaugurated by H.R.H. the Dube of canaught, are bright and promising. The measure of the success which will attend popular activities in the new era will be the measure of the earnestness of purpose, denotion to duty and thorough xxx unselfishness which may be brought to bear on the discharge of their duties by the people's representatives. Non-official leaders are taking upon their shoulders, as observed by the Hon'ble Mr. Thager, a vast amount responsibility.

The successful discharge of these liabilities will depend on the education of the extensive electorate, compromising several millions, a work worthy of the best men in the community.

More than all, the betterment and progress of the people depends only largely on co-operation between officials and non-officials, and even more on closer co-operation between the Indian and the

Indian and the Englishman and the subordination of inter communal jealousies among Indians themselves. On all these heads xxx Lord Willingdon spoke feelingly. He warned people not to be led astray by the willio' the wish of non-co-operation. The attempt to paralise Government, the declared object of the movement is both un-constitutional and disloyal. We are glad to think that both inside and outside the council chamber His Excellency was preaching to very big congragations of the converted. It is, we believe, a matter of general regret, edcept with the extense faction, that the Indian Natinaal congress should have taken a misguided course so unworthy of its past record. The stages of non-co-operation laid down for practice have been rediculed by everybody who has an y sense of responsibility and of what is practical politics. A fateful situation, however, has been created by Mr.Gandhi, and it is the duty of all parties interested in ordered progress on constitutional lines to combine forces to prevent te the mischievous tide of non-co-operation from spreading in the country. It was a timely warning, and the warning of an undoubted and sincere friend of India, that Lord Willingdon uttered, and we sincerely trust that His Excellency's words have fallen on good ground, and that they will bear fruit in a mutual good will, a closer co-operation between all classes of the community, and a realisation that, much as Indians may differ from one another and from Englishmen xxxxxxxx on some matters, yet they are all members of the same body politic.

The Art of the Canvas.

9-10-1920.

Politicians who are against boycotting the councils might do longer than take a leaf out of the book of the Madras Presidency Khilafat committee This body is not discouraged by the denunciation to which its policy had been exposed. So far from this being the case, it has mapped out a plan of campaign which appears to us to be most skifully conceived, and one which it would be foolish to ignore but expedient to imitate. In the last communique which the committees had sent to us stress is laid upon the importance of district work and propaganda. It recommends the reinforcement of District committees with people of local influence who are willing to devote at least an hour everyday x to the work. "Voters lists of the whole district xx must immediately be procured, by payment of the price, at each division. The town and district should be divided accordence to the polling centres. Each polling station should be rent in charge of a worker who must be responsible for that ward. Workers must be in accordance with their sphere of influence and must be man who have had experience of xxxxx elections or men who have several in occupations giving a wide acquaintance of men. They must make it a point of devoting a fixed portion of the day every day for the work". Equally businesslike is the advice about the distribution of literature:-- "Manifestos should be distributed not broadcost ~~lent~~ leaut to each and every voter, while making a list of dead on untraceable voters" After a reasonable time for

allowing the voter to cogitate upon the document, the conassers are to go round with signature books for recording the names of those who have been converted to Mr.Gandhi's policy. These books are to be entrusted to workers "Who are capable of convincing people without being in ordinately fond of speaking". Excellent counsel! Are we not - those who have encountered the canvasser at Home. Familiar with the irritating bore who will not leave the door-ment untill he has emptied himself of all his stock of persuasiveness? But "wherever beturing is necessary, viz when a decent body of men want to be convinced, a speaker should be send along with the workers". Finally, emphasis is laid on the expeding of getting to work immediately with the collection of signatures, and direction is given that "wory signatory must be warned not to go to any polling station either to see the fun or to watch or interfere with voters".

Here we have an extraordinarly able system of canvas, which, if turned against its originators, should res lt in the whipping up the electors to do the many thing which the khilafat committee is bent or preventing. We do not believe that the average voter is willing to disfranchise himself at any body's invitation, but we strongly suspect that apathy to the duty of exercising the sufferage is as strongly ingrained in him as x the British elector, and that it will require no small incitement to move him to the poll. Public meetings, such as the gathering addressed by Rao Bahadur K.V.Reddi Naidu and Negapatam today, are no doubt, a necessary part of an election campaign. People expect the leaders to

vigorously bang the big dreem on the eve of a trial of strength. The Rai Bahadur will not disappoint h s avidence, for his speech is attend to a strong fighting policy. To the candidates he says "Rememb that you have een fighting no for yourselves, but for the cause, for the great Non-Brahmin community. Let no other considerations enter into your calculations. Let there be no compromise, no conce sion. Don't argue, don't gesitate, don't retent, go forth and bag the whole lot. Let the wrongs of ages be redressed ever now, and while the Nationalists are non-co-operating and the Moderates (those blessed leaders without followers) are rubbing shoulders with high functionaries, let the country work out its own salvation by returning turn non-Brahmins". But the speaker rightly appreciated that words only reach the few, and that it requires work to catch the money, hence, his insistence on the need for educating the voter in the value of his note. Experience of English electors certainly teaches that for reaching the masses, converting them, and getting them to the poll, public oratory and ~~being~~ fiery eloquence count very little, it is the quit, persistant effort of the canvasser that wins an election. Therefore, we say to candidates do not ignore or despise the Madras Khilafat committee's plan - copy it.

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Discrediting the congress. 11 - 10 - 1920.

The "Hindu" approvas our vote upon the future congress creed as regards Swaraj, gives us second place to "New India" in the out of discrediting the congress. We, of course, bow to the correction that the All India congress committee in Bombay did not consider the suggestion that the future congress creed shall be:--"the attainment of swaraj, whether with or without the British Empire, by placeful and honourable means". Parenthetically we may express surprise that there should be thought anything discreditable in Congress selecting peaceful and honourable means to attain swaraj. But let that pass apparently the drafting of the congress constitutions has been referred to a Sub committee which has yet to submit its report. Therefore, says the "Hindu" which kindly pats us on the back for our effort of imagination". Our "Understanding" of what had taken place is to say the ~~leastxa~~ least little premions" while a little previous? can it be that the "Hindu" is not quite sure whether the Nagpur congress will not, after all, Thus our "Understanding" to be an intelligent anticipation? Anticipation of the congress policy is these days is notoriously subject to glorious uncertainties such as the Turf itself hardly promotes, and we have some root of recollection that the "Hindus" own effort of ~~xmigxx~~"imagination" ~~xixxxx~~ "in favour of non-co-operation subsequently proved "to say the least a little previous". In these circumstances, we can understand our contemporary's censorious" attitude - which suits it so well - towards any speculation on congress policy and programes.

<u>Non-co-operation: Lawyers.</u> 18 - 10 - 1920.

Mr.Gandhi persists in telling the lawyers that they must go and non-co-operate, and the lawyers show no signs of going. And little wardon, for the Mahatma hardly goes the right way to secure the sacrifice when he preaches the evil of high fees. "There is something sinful", he says," in a system under which it is possible for a lawyers to earn from Rs.50,000 to Rs.1 lakh a month. "We wonder how many," sinners" touch this income? Mr.Gandhi suggests that the ~~huny~~ heavy scale of fees responsible for such blessed receipts is a byncy of the English Lawyer in India. We do not know how far that is the trunk, but we doubt whether the most sought after leader of the Bar in England makes anything like an income equivalent to a lakh of rupees in India, as else where, influenced by the law of supply and demand? A leading Vakil is bound to be expensive, for heavy ~~fus~~ fees are his only protection from being over powered with clients, and we fancy that in the golden age, which Mr.Gandhi hopes to inaugorate, when" the best legal talent must able available, to the poorest out reasonable rates, "talent and competition will have more to do with the rate of remuneration than any of Mr.Gandhi's pious platitudes. At the events, Mr.Gandhi parts a heavy strain on the lost of full blown and ~~building~~ budding practictioners when he expects them to turn away from the bart of the sinful' income which he so alluringly dangers before them.

Lawrence and Dyer. 21 - 10 - 1920.

We make no apology for coming lack upon points connected with General Dyer's actions. None is needed, since the congress committee is apparently determined that the episode of Amritsar shall not be allowed to be forgotten. This body has taken the opinion of essiment council in England - at least Mr. Uppohn, K.C. is eminent - upon a case submitted; and counsel are reported to have expressed themselves as having no doubt that General Dyer was guilty of wilful murder" That conclusion must, we think, strike many people in India as some what startting. But, then, we must remember that the case" has not been made public. If the facts submitted for an opinion had any resemblance to the facts paraded in the Congress Press and on Congress Platforms, it is easy to imagine, the sort of opinion that would result. There is, however, this inetial difficulty in the way of activing upon Mr.Uppotins conclusion. Proceedings for murder are, we believe, beyond the power of any private prosecution so that unless the congress can persuade the British Go ernment to throw over the mitigating circumstances for Gemeral Dyer's action found by the Hunter committee, in some measure endoursed by themselves and whole heartedly supported by the bulk of intelligent opinion in England, there is no prospect of this part of the opinion being put the test. As regards the other possible co-operates for a prosecution, cousel's cantion upon the risk of a Mis carriage of justice "is significant. It suggests that a British jury, with all the facts before, it , might find that the General had

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done no more than the exigencies of his difficult position demanded.

Mr. Montague has declared it his pleasure and privilege to be the champion of every Affrica and official in India. This is as it should be. But men need a champion chiefly when they are attached, and Mr.Montagu belongs to the fair weather order of friends. How different his despatch from that generous message of Canning's to Henry Lawrence in 1857:--

You have full military powers: The Governor General will support you in anything you think necessary". General Dyer had it is true, the support of his Lientenant Governor, support volunteered without delay. But the Lientenant Governor was on the spot and that, nowadays, is rather a disqualification it discounts the value of a man's judgement. Other praise, too, he received. In his evidence, extracted by the questioning of General Barrow, there is a reference, somewhat pathetic in the light of after events, to the gratitude show him by all classes as saw themselves freed from the peril which had threatened, and knew that they owed the freedom to him:--"They all said that I had saved the signature, I had saved the Punjab, and all kinds of praise were showed on me which I have not mention." And instantly the mind goes back to anther man who was said, to have saved the Punjab, and to the very different treatment which he received at the hands of his country to Baron Lawrence of the Punjab and of Grately John Lawrence rose to the highest honours, he held the office of viceroy and retired with a persage,

and these things were consequences of his courageous firmness in the Punjab. His activities werenumerous and their importance greet, but we know that in the minds of his admisers nothing ranked so large ashis dealings with the disorders" of 1857. And we ask ourselves where the intrimise difference lay. When the mutiny was over, and his actions were scrutinised in the light of cool criticism, which is the reaction from a great alarm, did Lawrence prove to have subdued without intimidation to have checked bloodshed without severity? We will mention in answer only those forty men of the 55th regiment blown from the guns at Peshawar. A terrible lesson, but an effective one. We have heard much of Punishment calculated to humiliate the Indian", it does not seem to strike the gentlemen who use the phrase that the punishment, now as them, is fitted not to the Indian but to the crime. Brutal crime will not be stayed by Montassi methods. The garroters of mind Victorian London were put down by the determind verse of the Cat" in more recent days a bill introducing flogging certain cases had a marked effect upon the white glare traffic, the 19th century in Belgium save the abolition of the death sentence and its reluctant restoration because of the large increase in murders which had followed.

Much of what John Lawrence said and did beons with curious directness upon the situation in 1918; as when he wrote:--Our European force is so small that unless effectively hardled.at the outset and brought to hear, it will prove uneuqal to the emergency", and again: What we should avoid is the commanders of stations each toothing to his own charge

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and not to the general weal". The very words might have been in General Dyer's mind as he stood at the gate of the Jallianwalla Bagh.......Lord Morley has laid it down as "unacceptable" that an officer should consider anything in his actions outside the immediate situation about him, and Lawrence and Dyer followed this course. Both were disapproved on some points, but justified in the main. Wherein is the justification for the widely different treatment given them? Frankly, we do not see. The explanation may lie in the fact that the little fire which General Dyer so effectively presented from be coming a big one is looked on with secure contempt. And this the measure of the success is the measure of his disgrace.

The Indian National Congress. 28 - 10 - 1920.

It has been expected for some time past that the Nationalist elements which now how preponderating influence in its councils, would force a radical alteration in the constitution of the Indian National Congress. This party during the past two years has been strinning, and with some success, to eliminate Moderate influence from the congress. So give the finishing touch to Moderates in the congress, a sub committee was appointed at the Amritsar session to revise the constitution of the congress and its creed. This committee, which consisted of Mr.Gandhi, Mr. Patal, Mr.Kelkhar, and Mr.A Rangaswamy Iyengar, has submitted its report to the All India congress committee, which has published it for public criticism. Changes in the constitution of the congress have been effected more than once; but if the suggested amendments are adopted by the congress they will radically and fundamentally alter its aim and status as a leading political body in India. The existing constitution was framed immediately after the events which led to the disruption of the Smart session, and is the handiwork of some of the foremost Indian political leader. They had laboured to rear this organisation on a sure foundation and to guide the course of congress along national lines. In the opinion of many wellwishers of congress, the attempt to modify its constitution in response to the more reckless and irresponsible elements is rank folly, and dangerous to the existence of the institution itself. There anticipations will be confirmed by the changes proposed by the sub-committee to which we have alluded.

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The basic idea underlying Article I of the existing constitution is that the congress should work for the attainment of a government similar to that enjoyed by the selfgoverning Dominions. This object was to be achieved by constitutionalxxx constitutional means and by a steady reform of the existing system of administration. Article I of the creed, therefore, assumed the continuance of India as a member of the British Empire, as a self governing member. The iminoration now put forward has, we believe, the support of a large section of the rank and file of the congress as it does not make the British connectinn an essential feature of congress policy. The question of the British connection appears to have been pointedly raised by the sub-committee, and given up as unnecessary - or is it considered undesirable ax? The sub-committee has evendropped" constitutional methods" as an element in the attainment of submitted Swaraj", preferring to recommend legitimate and peaceful" methods. This recommendation, coming as it does after the adoption of the Home Rule League, under Mr.Gandhi's inspiration and guidance, of swarajya without reference to the British connection, shows in what direction it is saught to commit the congress. It is, however, not quite clear whether the anthors of the sub committee's report aim at Swarajya without the Britixh Empire, though any one familiar with Mr. Gandh 's view can have no doubt about his ultimate goal.

There is also another very important alteration which is likely to cause considerable trouble in the working of the congress, viz, the inclusion of Native stat s within the purfiew of its political work. For obvious reasons, delegates to the congress have long been drawn from British India, and the question

discussed have mainly related to administrative and politicalchanges in British India. According to sub-committees report, Native states are to be included in the electoral circles of the congress.
If this is adopted, we take it that problems relating to the international organisation and administration of Native states will, for the first time, be brought into the congress arena. Thisis a step which is likely to course considerable embarrassment all round, and is bound to provoke vehement discussion both in and out of congress circles. It is true that for some time past political progress of British India has reacted on the Native States, and that Indian Rulers like the Maharajan of Bikhanir and Baroda have inaugurated changes more or less in consource with the growth of public aspirations in British India. But subjects of Native States have not hitherto been allowed to discuss in the National congress questions bearing on the relations between the Native states and the Paramount Power as these are matters governed by Treaty rights. As pointed out by Sir William We warmer in his"Indian states" changes in the character of British relations with Native States are bound to come in process of time; but these are problems to which the Indian National Cingress has, as yet, given no attention. We consider that the present is hardly the time or opportunity and we believe that in this views all leading Indian politicians of any experience and res-ponsibility will agree- to constitute a political organisation of the character of the Indian National

Congress as an institution for the whole of India. A great many measures of constitutional reform have yet to be tied in their practical working in British India before an attempt can be made to bring National States into the sphere of congress activities. It is more than doubtful whether such meddling would be welcomed by these states.

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Mr.Gandhi : the Statements. 30 - 10 - 1920.

"The Servants of India" exposes with excellent wit the ~~xxxxxxxxxxx~~ folly of Mr.Gandhi and of the students who have abandoned their colleges at his call. What are these young men to do? The only constructive suggestion is that they should take to shinning and wearing. The actual effect has been that they are spending all their time in spinning very long patriotic yarns and doing no work? That, as our contemporary points out, is hardly a preparation for the battle of life; foremen and Mr.Gandhi's dispensation the Indian employer would not be disposed to take into his business young men whose only qualification is some facility in spinning. We have heard of the community which existed by no means of its members taking in one another's washing, but surely Mr.Gandhi's ideal is not an Indian nation supported by everybody buying the products of his neighbour's aloom. The tampering with the Aligarh students is signal proof that Mr. Gandhi is a blind guide for the blind. There boys, of course, are too young to see that the mischief of forsaking their studies will rebil on no other heads but their own. But Mr.Gandhi and his colleagues have been long enough in the world to perceive how easy a step it is from persuading youths to rebel against their parents and teachers to indening them to flout their political bosses. How many years puchase, we wonder, would Messrs Gandhi and Mahomed Ali be prepared to give for the allegiance of followers brought upon such slack nations of discipline? But wisdom is justified of her children wherever Mr.Gandhi

sows his seed some view and antagonistic species of non-co-operation shoots up and threatens to smother the parent plant. The dragon's teeth planted by Jason did not produce a more hasardous or self destructive crop.

Melodrama at "The crown". 2 - 11 - 1920.

We trust that it is not going to become the fashion for Canditates at election meetings to preface that addresses with pulling out a revolver. That sort of business is better calculated to empty a meeting hall than to fill it. There is a controversy over what Mr.C.P.Ramaswamy Iyer exactly did with the Weapon. One gentleman who was present at the crown Theatre declares that Mr.C.P.Ramaswamy Iyer drew out a revolver from its tray and, pointing it to the audience in a theatrical way said:--

"I am come well prepared". Another version is that he produced it simply to give point to his warning that he had come prepared for self-defence should any of the threatening letter writes who had addressed fed disposed to put their threats into execution. The discrepancy in testimony may be dismissed as an illustration of the various forms in which the same incident strikes different witness But one thing is clear. Mr.C.P.Ramaswamy Iyer did show a revolver; a more provocation on dangerous proceeding is hardly conceivable. In vulgar phrase, it "was asking for trouble", and, so far from cowing his apponents, it was only likely to everage them. When Burke flung down a knife on the floor of the House of commons, the House laughed instead of shouldering, and a member called at:--

"The Honourable Gentlemen has forgotten his work" was intended for a dramatic episode was treated with

was intended for a dramatic episode was treated with xxxxx redicule. That is the proper fate for the historiomics indulged in by Mr.C.P.Rama-swami Iyer. It is, indeed incredible that anybody could have imagined that the orator intended to indulge in any shooting or that the protection of the Police would not have sufficed to gurantee him from personal violence. At any rate, a revolver is certainly not the appropriate bodyguard to take a political meeting. If a candidate expects rough hadling he should form his posse of mercular men to perform the office of chucker - out" and, if occasion arises, to ward off any assaults xxx and batteries. We are perfectly sure that Mr. Lloyd George never in the most hazardous era of his political caker dreaned of going about with lethal weapons. And Mr.Lloyd George, when he heared Mr.Chamberlain's lions in their Birmingham den, in the midst of the Boerwar, eertainly had just reason to apprehend that they would tear him to pieces could they get him in their cluthces. The premier survived one particularly dangerous occasion by marking of in a file of polick, rigged out in a constable's uniform! No! a revolver is not the ultima ratio of politicians quite apart from the question whether their aim is sufficiently trust distinguish between the noisy crown and the innocent rigion.

Abkari Policy. 5 - 11 - 1920.

The speech delivered by the Hon'ble Mr.B.N.Sarmah a temperance meeting in Madras yesterday should afford food for reflection to those who have for many years been clamouring for the abolition of the excise revenue We remember a Non-official Member at a debate in the Madras Legislative council characterising the revenue derived from this source as filtty! and praying for its immediate drobition. Mr.Sarma, who has always been an ardent advocate of temperance, while admitting that it would be a good thing to extreminate the drink evil from the country by a policy of whole scale prohibition, is extremely doubtful as to whether it would be possible from a financial point of to view. Under the Reform scheme, the abkari administration of the country will be in the hands of popular representatives, and it will not be possible to throw the blame on an alien Government as being obstructive to temperance reform and to the abolition of the abkari revenue. It remains to be seen whether, under the new dispensation in India, there will be the same persistent demand by the peoples representatives for total prohibition on even for a substantial modification of the existing abkari policy. Such apolicy would deplete the country's exchequer, but funds would have to be obtained from the people to enable the administration of the country to be carried on. The crucial question, therefore is whether the people will submit to greatly enhanced taxation in order to make up for the loss that would be entailed by a reversal of the present abkari policy. We may mention that in 1918-19 the revised estimate for India's abkari revenue was £11,567,900 and

the amount budgeted for in 1919-20 was £12,153,300 To make up for such a large loss of revenue is indeed a problem before which the ablest Finance Minister may well quair Myfama, of course, did not be little the labour of temperance workers in India, and believes that persistant work on the part of temperance societies is boubd to lead to beneficial results. A vast amount of education of the masses will, in his opinion, be necessary befor India can by legislation be made a dry country. We do not know if Mr.Pussyfoot "Johnson's pending visit to this country will give an impetus to the temperance movement a ong Indians, but, according to the Hon'ble Mr.Justice Sadanisa Iyer, the chairman of yesterday's meeting, the remedy for the drink evil is far more easy to apply to the masses of the population than to the educated classes. Te every vow being misspent on the non-co-operation movement might, in the opinion of Mr.Iyer, be directed with advantage to the cease of temperance. It will be interesting to watch the attitude of the new dectorates and see whether they will make the total prohibition of drink one of the principle planks of their political reforms, and actively and persistently strive to achieve that also.

Government's Policy towards Non-co-operation

8 - 11 - 1920.

The Government of India's statement of policy towards non-co-operation will be read with mixed feelings. The non-co-operators will look upon it as a renewal of the character to do mischief. To those who believe that it is the business of Government to frustrate a moment which is characterised as fraight with the most mischievous potentialities for India", the reluctance and the hesitation expressed in the annoucement will appear a confession of weakness But we believe that the majority of fairminded men will appreciate the reasons given by the Government for withholding measures against Mr.Gandhi and his fellow disterbers of the public tranquility. It is true that the Satyagraha could led to a dreadful tragedy, and that the non-co-operation movement gives every sign of terminating in a similar cantastrophe. But the time has now come when Indians must relieve the Government from the necessary Governers' duties of protecting them from the bullying and trouble some boys of the family. That is the pith of the official statement of policy. The Indians are the people who suffer most from the mad cap franks of Mr.Gandhi and his band. If we not hurt the Government that men, whose purpose is to undermine government authority persuade schoolboys to throw up their studies and grown up men who are old enough to know better, to boycott the councils. The Government will carry on all the same, and if Sir Chimanlal Setalwad's prediction is right, that the non-co-operation movement must lead

to violence and anarchy, it will be the people who have joined in these courses who will pay the price. That is the lesson of Sinn Fein in Ireland, and the lesson of Satyagraha in India, an if the same tale is not to be repeated in connection with non-co-operation it must be by Indians themslelves landing against the disturbing elements in their midst and insisting that such a clamity shall not befall them.

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Khilafat committee. 25 - 11 - 1920.

The Madras Khilafat committee loses no opportunity of inprasing the shinning hour. It has siezed on a passage in the "Madras Times urging that a maximum holl on the 30th ~~the~~ instant is the nearest way of killing Gandhism. This, we are told in the committee's latest manifesto is a sign of the Governments anxiety. Therefore, argues the committee, now is the time for the supreme effort to make the elections a ghostly failure we think that the manifesto itself reflects some anxiety. The committee knows percectly will that not all voters are going to abstain from the poll either to please Mr.Gandhi on on account of the weather, business or apathly members will be returned to the Legislative Council and the business of Government will proceed. "But" says the committee, obviously intent on saving face", the position of those who by force of the Government rules steal into the councils with a few caste or partisan votes will soon become rediculous", But why should not the length be on the side of those who are inside the council chamber? Their position is not likely to be more humourous than that of the politicians out side - the would - be legslator without a job, the unemployed constitution builder without bricks.

Members for Madras. 3 - 12 - 1920.

The result of the poll for the Madras City seats in the Legislative council is, we understand, that Sir P.Theagaragachetty comes out top, followed in order by Mr.C.P.Ramaswamy Iyer, Dr.Rama Rao and Mr. Thanikachalan Chetty. Thus two non-Brahmins and two Brahmins have been returned, and under the Rules the successful non-Brahmins Candidates will take the two reserved seats. From the approximate figures it is clear that both the Brahmin candidates will take the two reserved seats. From the approximate figures it is clear that both the Brahmin candidates received a quartum of Non-Brahmin votes and it is probable that the two leading non-Brahmins were given some Brahmin votes. In fact Mr.Ramaswamy Iyer is only some 70 votes below Sir P.T.Chetty. Assuming that the Brahmin electors turned up in force, that the non-co-operators did not all practice what they preached about the virtue of boycott, and plumped for Brahmins, even then the exclusively Brahmin poll would not have exceeded 3,000 which means that the supplus votes in favour of the successful Brahmin candidates must have been given by non-Brahmins. We do not know what proportion of plumpers any of the non Brahmin candidates may have had or whether Sir P.Theagarayachetty's and Mr. Thanikachalam chetty's figures present an exclusively non-Brahmin vote. Complaint has been made that the non-Brahmin poll would have been very much higher but for the non-co-operating who introduced some intimidation into the proceedings, and we do not doubt that there is foundation for the grievance. However that ~~xxxyx~~ may be it is a legitimate inference that non-Brahmin abstentions and a careful manipulation of split,

votes by the Brahmins have resulted in the two non-Brahmin candidates being divided by the two Brahmins. It was obviously to the interest of the Brahmin elector to divide his votes between the two Brahmins and the two non-Brahmin candidates whom he most favoured. Two seats were bound to fall to the non-Brahmins so the Brahmin elector have very inducement to give his support to the two non-Brahmins who were supposed to have the best chances of success.

This strategy could only be defeated by an over/ordinery non-Brahmin vote for the non-Brahmin candidates. Now it is evident that there was a considerable distribution of cotes among the non-Brahmin candidates. The non-Brahmin electorate did not concentrate on returning four non-Brahmins to the council. Their voting power was dissipated over six candidates. There is bound to be this dissaptore factor in Party Politics, and the only way of counteracting it is to be found in a more complete organisation of strength. That will conein due course and in all parties. Meanwhile we congratulate the four gentlemen who have been returned (though not yet officially) for Madras city. They are a thoroughly representative quantette whose Zeal and good work in civil matters are an earnest of their future usefulness to the city and Presidency in the wider sphere of activity opened by the Reforms scheme. It is only meet and monur that the neteran President of the Madras corporation should receive so signal a proof of the general esteem in which he is held as to be the first and foremost member returned for Madras. Messrs. C.P.Ramaswamy Iyer and Mr.Thanikachalam Chetty will worthily represent the Legal element in the Reformed council, and public

health will have an untiring and expert guardian in the person of Dr.Rama Rao. To the gentlemen who have not succeeded we offer our congratulations on a plucky fight and the solace of "Better luck next time". As we go to press we learn that Rao Bahadur T.Rayacharian, High court Vakil, has been returned to the India Legislative Assembly by the Madras city Electorate by a very large mejority.

The Education of a clerk. 9 - 12 - 1920.

Mr.Gandhi has attempted to justify his incitement of students to defy their parents and guardians, to absent themselves from school, and, generally speaking, to run wild on the streets, by the plea that the education given in the existing institutions of the country but fits youngmen to be clerks by occupation and slaves by disposition. So remedy this unfortunate state of affairs, Mr. Gandhi pretends to have started, or proposes at some indefinite point of time to start, a system of "National education", which will produce resul s with a repidity hitherto unexampled in human annals. For it full self government is to be attained by India, as he predicts within a year, it follows that ~~either~~ within a like period" national education" must transform the General Indian from a slave into a free man capable of holding and guarding the previous figt which Mr. Gandhi has bestowed upon him. The facts that Mr.Gandhi probably knows little, and careless, about the actual working of India's schools, that his present whin, after serving its purpose of ministering to his over wearing vanity, will, no doubt, he replaced by some other whin equally unreasonable, are no reason for refusing to examine his general accusation in the dry light of common sense.

That many, far too many, young Indians but utilise their university degrees to obtain lwy paid clerical posts in public offices we at once concede. That the English boy, educated at an English school or at an English university, as a rule turns his

education to better account, we likewise concede. The questions for consideration, then, are whether careers are open to the Englishman that are closed to the Indian, and whether supposing all careers to be open to ability, there is something in the education provided for the Indian that prevents him from taking advantage of such opening as fortune throws in his way. Now the ordinary aspiration of the Indian is towards state Service, and the best paid State service in India is the I.C.S.Entrance to this Service has hither to been(we except the disturbed years of the war) by competitive examination, and the first and most obvious point is that for the examinations no specilised education is needed. The subjects proposed for examination are those included in the ordinary course of a school or university. But that, in this particular case, the Indian educated in India is at a disadvantage compared with the Englishman we admit, the teaching obtaibable in India can not be compared with that obtainable in England. Yet this fact does not bring home to England and charge of Machiavellian selfishness and cunning, the matter is more or less are of pounds, shillings and pence. India will not pay teachers as England does, and certainly will not accord than the position that they hold in England. And, when all is said and done, ther is thus unions point to be noted:-- Indian civil servent, after all, is little more than a glorified zduk, his conference in England is called bluntly a first dicision clerk."If clerking is a trade unworthy of the Indian, he need not greatly warry that circumstances present him from becoming a super - clerk.

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Turn to the "leaned professions". The Law is the chosen livelihood in all countries of many young men whose education has been entirely litrary and generaly and here Indian facts at once refute Mr.Gandhi's assertion. The prizes of the law, the great incomes of the Bar, are almost universally in the hands of the Indians. Consider Medicine a first rate medical education is obtainable in India and it is the constent and perfectly legitimate boast of the Indian publist and papers that the general practice of the countr is passing from the hands of European Sxxx State-appointed officials to those of men trained in India, and carrying on their profession independently of state aid or hindrance. It surely cannot be Mr.Gandhi's argument that the exercise of a leaved profession is in itself unworthy of a free man, that human beings should seek self development by approciation to the beasts of the jungle. Let us, however, admit for the sake of argumentx that officials and professional men" are but servants of the general public (perhaps this is their chrifest glory), and that power and influence reside in the business community. "If that be so, then in many parts of India power is with the Indian.

We velieve that the Indian has a good a chance in life us anyone else could he but rid himself of the fatal beliefs that success throughout his life can be, or ought to be, secured by the defenite act of passing an examination, that a coupon labelled" Education" can be obtained in one corner of the National edifice and presented far payment at a desk in another corner. Education is nothing but the preparation of a boy's faculties for use in the world;

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others can give him the preparation, but the use is a matter for himself. Even in England this truth is not universally recognised; witness the present day obsession that a smattering of chemistry can do more for a dull boy than a smattering of greek. Systems of education may change, may be improved but neither Mr.Gandhi now any body else can canot a blous styled "National Education "Stuff it down the throat of a passive recipment, and thereby render such recipient free, happy and prosperous.

The New Madras Government. 17 - 12 - 1920.

The Government, as constituted under the Reforms Act, come into effect at 3 'O clock this after noon. The Executive council consists of Mr. Lionel Davidson, Mr.C.G.Todhunter, Khan Bahadur Mohomed Habibullah, and Mr.K.Srinivasa Iyenger, who with His Excellency the Governor form' the Governor in Council' His Excellency the Governor, with Dewan Bahadur A.Subbarayal Reddian, Mr. P.Ramarayaningar and Rai Bahadur K-Venkatareddy Naidy, the three Muslims who take charge of the transfered subjects, constitute the Government for carrying on the administration of these departments, the Executive Council and the Ministers together forming the combined Government of the Presidency. Sir P. Rajagopalachariar is the President of the Legislative Council and Dewan Bahadur L.P.Swamikannu Pillay, retiring from the Public Service today, takes up the appointment of secretary to the council as a non-official. It is satisfactory that the new Government have at their disposal the wide administration knowledge and experience of the two senior members of the civil service in Madras. Neither is Khan Bahadur Habibullah new to office, as he has acted for over a period of six months in the capacity of Executive councillor. He thus bring, to his office a familiarity with the inner working of the Government, besides an extensive knowledge and experience of local government Mr.K.Srinivasa Iyengar will be an accession of strength to the council. We believe that the absence of a lawyer from this body since the retirement of Sir P. Sivaswami Iyer has sometimes been a handicap. Though Sir P.Theagaraya Chettiar

ha s retired from the government after three years of streneous and successful work he will, as President of the new council be the main link between the government and the Legislative council. We have no doubt that in his new sole he will prove as valuable aguide and councillor as he was a member of the late government. Of the Ministers, Mr.Subbaraya Reddiar has given many years of able work in furtherance of local self government. He has always been independent in his views and judgement, and, possessed s he is of ample private means and of considerable influence with his community, he can be relied upon to achieve success and justify his selection. Both Messrs Ramaraya Iyengar and Venkata Reddy Naidy, who have taken a leading part in the development of political consciousness among the non-Brahmin community, have won their new positions by their ability and capacity for leadership. The ministry is calculated to work harmoniously and unitedly to make the path for the establishment, of responsible government in its earlier steps smooth and successful.

The Indian National Congress. 21 - 12 - 1920.

During the many years of its existence the Indian National congress has worked, through good and evil report, for the development of self government by the gradual and increasing association of Indians in the work of government, and that considerable success has attended its efforts will be generally conceded. Much of the Credit for this is due to men like Mr.Naoroji, Sir P.Mehta and Mr.Gokhale, who laboured incessantly for the betterment of India and the promotion of the interests of the people, under the strong conviction that the British conviction was to their mutual and abiding good. Their spirit animated the congress movement until a few years ago, and has been almost entirely responsible for the feeling of national consciousness and sense of unity that have grown up. This spirit influenced the counsels of the congress until the Extremists arrived on the scene and broke up the institution of that fateful meeting at Surat. But the efforts of the old leaders were renewed and placed the congress on its old foundations, giving it at the same time a defenite creed and a decisive policy, and for a decade or so congressmen were unhampered by the disintegrating force of Extremism Later events, however, conspired to enable the Extremists to regain admission into the congress, and to revive their agitation on the basis which, though in conflict with the declared policy of the congress, appealed to a considerable following among the intelligents. Though a series of fortune tours circumstances they succeeded in capturing the congress organisation and changing its old policy of constructive co-operation. The Moderates struggled

hard to keep the congress to its old traditions and approve lines of constitutional agitation, but the extremists made their position so intolerable that the Moderates were forced to secede from it and from independent organisations. The clearage become more pronounced after the declaration of August, 1917, and led to a bitter fight between the two parties over the reception that should be accorded to the Monfford Reforms based on this declaration. The Extremists refused to see anything good in the Reforms and started a violent and acrimonious agitation against those who, true to the creed of the congress, welcomed the Reforms as marking a substantial step towards the attainment of responsible Government. The Moderates, including some of the most thoughtful and responsible leaders, in spite of such condumdy, sought to persuade the counting to accept the Reforms in good part and utilise them for for their advance. But the Extremists, under the role of Nationalists, began to work for their rejection, declaring that the Reforms were actually reactionary in spirit and should be rendered unworkable.

When the details of the Reform scheme were published, we believe that some of the foremost Nationalist leaders regarded them with approval, and were prepared, like the Moderates, to adopt an attitude of responsive co-operation. But this feeling was short lived. Water on, however, the Nationalists as a body, apprehended that in the working out of the details of the scheme the counsels of the Moderate Party were likely to prevail, and that in the councils themselves the Moderates would have a prepanduating enfluence. They forthwith, resolved on trying to wreck

scheme if they were not to have a controlling influence in the conduct of affairs under the new regime. The boycott of the Reforms thus became the battle cry of the Nationalists. At this stage, Mr.Gandhi, who had been leading a movement of protest in connection with the Punjab tragedy and the Khilafat, put him self at the head of the Nationalistsxx and began to preach non-co-operation of which he is now the acknowledge high priest, and gave it a National and religious character of battle royal reged over non-co-operation of the special congress in Calcutta for fice days, and as was expected, the more uncompromising among the non-co-operations carried the day. The shrewder among them, however, while going adhesin giving adhesion to the principle, reserved to themselves the liberty to pick and choose items in the Gandhiam programme for adoption at their discretion. This led to division in the camp of the Nationalists, but the whole hoggers" among them gained an accession of strength from the Khilafat movement. It is note worthy, however, that the agitation has confined it self to the less exacting portions of Mr.Gandhi's programme, of those which do not involve any personal or pecuniary sacrifice, such as the renunciation of titles, the resignation of honourable officers and the incitement of to school boys to abandon the established schools and colleges. So far, the response as regards relinquishment of titles and honorary offices has been very poor, though in regard to schoolboys a certain measure of success has been attained.

The Nagpur congress will reapen the programme of non-co-operation and decide what particular items can be adopted in the light of later experience, and what should be given up. It is not unlikely that a

a strong effort will be made to get the congress to abandon such items as the boycott of the councils and have courts, while attempts will possibly be made to recommend the and emphasie the need for non-payment of taxes and the boycott of certain British goods We do not know if non-co-operators realise that, since the special congress in Calcutta, a new state of things have come into existence. All over the country electons under the Reforms on the extended franchise, and on the basis of direct voting, have taken place, and new governments on the popular basis have been constituted in the various Provinces, the Legislative councils, including a preponderant non-official majority of elected Members. In the Provincial Governments popular representatives have now much longer powers than their predecessors, and uniting almost to autonomy in the sphere of transfered subjects. Those who are interested in the great future of India expect the people to make the trust use of what has thus been secured by contimons constitutional agitation without nursing the grievances associated with the old under, and it has now given place to a new. But who do we see in the country at this juncture? A violent and bitter propaganda submersive of established law and order, persistently carried on. The manifold benefits to, and increasing prosperity of the peoples of India secured by 150 years of settled British rule are reckoned as naught. The Punjab tragedy and the Turkish place terms are made the sole justification for the agitation, which is calculated, not merely to undermine British prestige in the country, but to strike at the roots of all under and law. What makes the situation ever more serious is that the agitation is carried on by an irresponsible section professing

to speak in the name of the millions, and who seem to be bent upon sacrificing everything for a mere sentiment.

The Nagpur congress will thus meet at a fateful period in the history of the country wisdom and sound states manship should dictate the rejection of the non-co-operation propaganda and the adoption of a definite resolution to walk along the path of constitutional agitation, which has framed safe and successful in the past, to ~~enforce~~ ensure the attainment by India in the near future of full responsible Government. If, on the other hand, the country is induced by Mr.Gandhi to approve of his impracticable, idealistic and visionary scheme for the attainment of "Swaraj" in a year, or less, the result is bound to be the extinction of the congress, and in a violent break with the past, to the utter destruction of over a ~~country~~ century of constructive work for the establishment of benevolent and orderly government.

<u>The New Non-co-operation.</u> 27 - 12 - 1920.

We were reading recently an admirably within sketch of the life and career of Mr.C.Vijaya Raghava wariar, the President of the Indian National Congress, now sitting at Nagpur. It struck us than that a great deal of stress was laid on the scholerly efforts he had made to educate himself in the principles of politics and too little on the practical same outlook that should come from mixing within in a world of men. The whole of the hury lengthy address which Mr.Vijayaraghavachariar delivered at Nagpur yesterday bears traces of vast expenditure of midnight oil to very little purpose, if the only outcome of it is to bolster up the extra-ordinary statement that the only result of British Rule in India is that the people "one now placed by their rulers in an intollerable position and that they are determined forth with to make their beautiful country and safe for her sons and daughters to live in, and that any further delay in their achievement of this vital object means ruin to them and peril to the Empire, if not to the future peace of the world". A sweeping statement this, but the congress President says the threat is going to be inforced by action directed by us one sided a reading of the falts of History as it is possible to conceive.
It is not difficult to make your appovent out of a monster of iniquity by sketching in with the blackest of pigments those aspects of him which you do not approve and learning out all that many redound to his credit. But, after all, why should we ask to expect any more from Mr.Vijayaraghavachari than from any of the hundreds of others who for years have

have proceeded on the same lines.

The Extgremist section has decided that nothing short of "responsible self government" according to its own defination of it, is going to satisfy its; consequently anything short of it must go by the board at once. If not, they are going to enforce it. And how? We have heard and read a good deal about the amended scheme of non-co-operation which was going to be evolved by the present congress. It is a very curious thing that every political leader with any pretence to advanced". ideas has condemned Mr.Gandhi's method as in practicable and unworkable, but they are deeply in sympathy with some other scheme of non-co-operation, the details of which are not disclosed. As we have said, Mr.Gandhi threw his not as widely as possible, and if his non-co-operation has been failure, it is not because of a lack of comprehensiveness in the scheme. Now comes Mr.Vijayaraghavachariar to assert that the idea was sound enough and unfectly justifiable while it failed was a its details. His method of criticism of these isx the old familiar one of damning with faint baise. That Mr. Gandhi's scheme of non-co-operation is by no means deadx we have the news that is coming through from Nagpur today to prove. Things are moving at a breakneck speed, and even Sri Valentire chirol is apprehensive of the danger that non-co-operators of Mr.Gandhi type are going put in its place, because some scheme they must have; and because it is hardly likely that even Mr.Montague, at the bidding of this congress will abandon the ten years training period of the Reform scheme for the ready made constitution which Mr.Achariar has in his packet, which he has already flung at the head of Mr.Montagu and the

Viceroy and is prepared to do it again as many times as is necessary.

Other leaders, who do not heil from Bengal, have nebulous Schemes their own, about which they have been very reticent, and Mr.Vijayaraghavachariar has his. It is a scheme of nation building "We must take a nation, building at once, on a sclae and in a manner to make up for lost time and fully equal to meet the situation as well caused by own torpidity and hibernation of energies as by the bad faith and misconduct by our rulers" This, and unification of the people. Strange programme to be adopted by one who is one breath demands immediate and responsible self government and brushing away incontinently of any period of probation, and in the next admits torpidity and liberation is characteristic of the whole tenour of this remarkable document. Meanwhile, the period of training that is to be spent in nation building and seeking unification - a very much longer period, admittedly, than that demanded by the Reforms - is to be dinerrified by twisting the non official European's tail by a conprehensive scheme of throttling private enterprise and industry in India. "I desire", says Mr.Vijayaraghavachariar," that we intentionally, and with set purpose, make provision. for gradually and rapidly affecting the income of the English exploiter in India and enemies England, in so far as India is her market and supplier of raw produce, in all legitimate ways, ikmediately, by organising labour, especially unskilled labour, for the economic advancement of India at an accelerated speed and calculated at the same time to starve

to starve the foreign exploiter".

We are quite familiar already with these curious means of converting Englishmen into friends, as suggested by Mr.A.Charian, from "Swadeshi" enterprise to labour strikes, but we doubt their efficably as an aid to the scheme of nation building and unification. It is all very well to touch the pockets of the Englishment to make him see reason, but it is this enterprise and trade of the European that are mainly responsible for the wealth of the country and without it, where is the money to come from that now circulates and part of which is used for the purposes of Government?

The Congress President talked glibly of what appears to be a communal levy on the lines of the income tax, but when you have choked foreign trade and disorganised labour, and have nothing to put into their places. Because distruction is a far easier process than construction building and unification - the communal being is not going to do much towards financing India. In this method Mr.Vijayaraghavachariar has a morbid horror of estranging class from class, or of exciting the opposition of conflicting interests: but if he really wants to see what this is like, he can take a hand in the game of strifling foreign trade and crippling industry. He will find that the European merchant will not take this typing down. But that is not the opposition to which we refer. It is to that of the Indian trader who without being one of the "intelligentria", has a shrewd ability to get what he wants and who is apot to resent theorists middling with his affairs now or the pretext of giving his affairs ~~now on the pretext of giving him~~ a unified

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nationa a generation or two hence. We have heard so much of the "grand old man of Southern India", than the quaint" "rechauffe" of this one sayeet and that one writeth, trailing off into a visionary scheme of nation building conbined with running the trade of India without having anything to put in its place. Yet it is theasists and vissionaries of this sort we are hailed as leaders of the people.

The Natinal Liberal Federation. 29 - 12 - 1920.

The National Liberal Federation of India a body called into being by disruption, due to the unwillingness of its members to travel the same road, and at the same headlong speed, as the so called Indian National congress under its present leaders - began its third annual session today, Madras. It is a coincidence that the gentlemen chosen to preside over the diliberations of both bodies should belong to Madras, though M.C,Y.Chinthamani severed his connection with this Presidency some years ago to undertake the editorship of the Leader at Allahabad, a journal which he fonducts with much ability and an outspokenness which never develops into licence. It is interesting therefore. to conpare the speeches of the two men presiding over rival political bodies. Mr.C.Vijayaraghavachariar, the political, scholerly rechuse, and Mr.Chinthamani, the publicist of ability living in the midst of things, with hand perpetually on the public pulse. Both see the same goal, but the one is impractical and misionary in his methods of reaching it, the other has a clearly defined route which he is prepared to traverse with all reasonable speed. The one arranges the British Government in India for all the possible and impossible sins of omission and commission that he can clear of, and calls upon it to immediately surrender the reins of government to the extremist section, to drive headlong to the Utopia of perfect and responsible self-government that he has visions. The other, it is true, also places the responsibility for the present politically troubled state of India on the shoulders of our rulers, but is willing, may legar,

that they should, by the fullest co-operation with the people of India, win back the confidence and respect which he asserts, they have lost, but not irretrievably. In his ~~assaignment~~ arraignment of India be speaks with a plainness that may hurt the suspectibilities of those who have such an implicit faith in the ~~infalbilixy~~ infallibility of our rule s that they can see no failing. We, however, who are more accustomed to the amemities of a controversed area, recognised the ability with which Mr.Chinthamani puts his case. He is strenuous in his criticism, but not unmeasured in his denunciation.

We do not of course, see eye to eye with him in all that he criticises, but we recognise that, from his point of view, things are what they seem to be. It is possible to admit that if the reform as had been taken move sensously and sympathetically in the past things would not be in the state they are in now. The Reforms that are ~~none~~ now contemned would, a decaceage, have left the most advanced Indian reformer dumb with amazed gratitude. Once the stage of diverse discontent" has been reached, political mession begins to magnify everything it looks on the sins and failings of the past and the present and the value of the suggested reforms. The trouble has been that both parties have been looking through lenses of different magnification. The task to be achieved is to get them to use achromatic lenses of the same magnification, to continue the optical figure of speech, and this, we think, is far more likely to be achieved ~~ixxtoxgetxtxemxtoxxxx~~ by the policy which Mr.Chinthamani outlines for the future than that which Mr.Vijayaraghachariar temporisingly

presents to a body which is quite prepared, apparently, to go much further than he. Co-operation on both sides, in every sense of the term, is what Mr.Chinthamani advocates, and we can forgive him the ruthlessness with which he locerates our feelings of and admination for the British administration, despite its faults and its failings, on account of the pitiless logic with which he demolishes the vissionary edifice of immediate self-government that non-co-operation is going to secure. "Immediate swaraj", he says, "is an emphimism for revolution. And revolution can not be accomplished by appeals to constituted authority. But non-co-operation cannot achieve it either.......

To those into whose soul the iron has entered, and who have worked themselves into a conviction that any state of existence would be better than life under this Government, the only path that is open is armed revolt. If they think they can, if they feel they must, let them go forward and risk it. It will deplore this folly, but will respect their courage and straight-forwardness". But to desist from such a course and then deliberately undermine respect for law and authority among the unintelligent masses is nothing short of criminal luracy. Mr.Chinthamani does not say so in these words, but it is easy to see that this is what his words imply, and every right thinking man will agree with him. The National Liberation Federation of India, says the President of the conference rather neatly, does not spell evolution with an initial R. It is not satisfied

It is not satisfied with things as they are, but it does not believe in breaking with the past. It is all for reform, but it is content with steady, though not slow, progress.

1267/RI/85

53RI/84

1020/86.

1165/86

1222/RH

7/3/90

1/3/2002

11-7-2013/RI/RH

9-11-2016/RI